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The Media History section of the proceedings contains the following nine papers: "'This Is a Test': The Evolution of the Emergency Broadcast System" (Larry G. Burkum); "Radio Homemaker Programming: Old Time Radio's Ingredient for Attracting Women Listeners" (J. Steven Smethers and Lee Jolliffe); "Her Amplified Voice: Gender, War Propaganda and Canadian Motherhood, 1939-1943" (Barbara M. Freeman); "The Attempt to Censor Racist Speech: The NAACP's Protests against 'The Birth of a Nation,' 1915-1916" (Hosoon Chang); "A Look at Factors Leading to the Murder of a Broadcast Journalist" (Mary K. Sparks); "Timothy H. O'Sullivan: His Role in the Great Surveys of the American West" (John Anderson); "Fact or Fiction? The Mystery of Magazine Content Quality in 1905" (Louise Williams Hermanson); "Global Television and Global Community: The Utopian Rhetoric of Satellite Communications Policy, 1961-63" (Michael Curtin); and "Get Thee to the Kitchen! The First Wave of the Women's Movement in the 19th Century Political Cartoons of 'Puck,' 'Punchinello,' and 'Harper's Weekly'" (Elizabeth Fakazis). (RS)

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"THIS IS A TEST":

THE EVOLUTION OF THE EMERGENCY BROADCAST SYSTEM

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"This is a test":

The Evolution of the Emergency Broadcast System

I. INTRODUCTION

On August 5, 1963 the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) established the Emergency Broadcast System (EBS) "to fulfill national security requirements while at the same time providing for transmission of vital information to the public."[1] EBS provided a means for the President and other Federal officials to communicate with the public preceding, during and following a national emergency, especially an enemy attack. EBS replaced the CONELRAD (Control of Electromagnetic Radiation) system, which the FCC established on April 10, 1953 to prohibit the use of radio transmissions for navigation.[2]

This paper will examine the following research question: Why did the FCC establish EBS to replace CONELRAD?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND JUSTIFICATION

Previous research has examined the relationship between the broadcast industry and the government and its agencies. Most of this research deals with the regulation of the industry or issues

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[1]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1963), 34.

[2]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1953), 26.

relating to such regulation.[3] But little, if any, research exists on the Emergency Broadcast System. A search of several communication and law journals failed to locate any articles on EBS.[4] Broadcast history texts at best provide few details on EBS or CONELRAD.[5] Head and Sterling include only a brief mention of EBS in a footnote.[6]

This lack of research is surprising because of the longevity of EBS and the earlier CONELRAD system, and the systems' importance to the Cold War. The recent breakup of the Soviet Union, plus the upcoming 30th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis, makes the topic especially timely. EBS is noteworthy as one of the few remnants of the Cold War.

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[3]For example: Edward F. Sarno Jr., "The National Radio Conferences," Journal of Broadcasting 13 (Spring 1969):189-202; Richard J. Meyer, "Reaction to the 'Blue Book,'" Journal of Broadcasting 6 (Fall 1962):295-312; P. J. Feldman, "The FCC and Regulation of Broadcast Indecency: Is There a National Broadcast Standard in the Audience?" Federal Communications Law Journal 41 (July 1989):369-400; and J. Schement and L. Singleton, "The Onus of Minority Ownership: FCC Policy and Spanish-language Radio," Journal of Communication 31 (Spring 1981):78-83.

[4]The following sources were consulted for research related to EBS and CONELRAD: Journalism Quarterly, Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Journal of Communication, LegalTrac, Journalism Monographs, Journalism Abstracts, American History Abstracts, ERIC.

[5]See for example Erik Barnouw, A History of Broadcasting in the United States, Vol. III: The Image Empire, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting, 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1990).

[6]Sydney W. Head and Christopher H. Sterling, Broadcasting In America: A Survey of Electronic Media, 6th ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990), 63.

III. METHOD

This research project consisted of a historiographical analysis of published documents related to the development of the Emergency Broadcast System. These included annual reports of the Federal Communications Commission, Department of Defense, and Office of Civil Defense. Personal papers of President John F. Kennedy were also consulted, as were historical accounts of the cold war. Print media reporting about the EBS, principally from The New York Times and Broadcasting magazine, was also examined.

Early examination of EBS documents led to the hypothesis that EBS was created in response to the Cuban Missile Crisis. based on the fact that the Executive Order creating EBS was signed on February 26, 1963, just four months after the crisis.[7] However, this hypothesis was soon discounted as further investigation made it clear EBS evolved out of CONELRAD, and was, in fact, a continuation of the national civil defense alerting system. It also became clear that to understand the origin of EBS, one must first examine the origin and development of CONELRAD.

Preliminary investigation of FCC records determined a time-line for CONELRAD and EBS. Based on this, a search of the "New York Times Index" and the corresponding weekly issues of Broadcasting magazine produced several articles about CONELRAD and EBS. This evidence was then corroborated with historical

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[7]President, Executive Order No. 11092, 26 February 1963, in Federal Communications Commission, Basic Emergency Broadcast System Plan, June 28, 1967, pp. 23-25.

accounts of the Cold War during the late 1950s and early 1960s, the time period covering the transition from CONELRAD to EBS.

This evidence, as well as President Kennedy's personal papers, biographies of Kennedy written by former staff members, and published public opinion research, produced patterns of attitudes and policies regarding civil defense. Inferences drawn from this evidence then produced plausible explanations for the government's change from CONELRAD to EBS.

IV. EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE

A. Creation of CONELRAD

Section 606 of the Communications Act of 1934 authorizes the President of the United States to exercise certain emergency powers in time of war. He may, among other things, authorize the use or control of any station or device, its apparatus and equipment by any department in the government under such rules as he may prescribe with just compensation to the owners.[8]

Congress amended the Communications Act on October 24, 1951 to clarify the scope of the President's emergency powers contained in Section 606 (c)[9]. The new law authorized the President to shut down radio facilities to prevent an enemy from

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[8] Communications Act of 1934 (Public Law 416), 73d Congress, June 19, 1934, in Frank J. Kahn, ed., Documents of American Broadcasting, 3d ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 571-73.

[9] Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1952), 22.

using their electromagnetic radiation for navigational purposes.[10]

On December 10, 1951, President Truman issued an order delegating this authority to the FCC. The Commission was to develop plans to minimize the use of radio signals which might guide enemy craft and, at the same time, assure the maximum possible availability of radio stations for civil defense purposes.[11] Pursuant to this order, the FCC announced initial plans for the operation of CONELRAD on December 2, 1952.[12]

CONELRAD originally included only AM radio stations. Television stations and FM radio stations could not be incorporated into the project because they produce different types of radio waves.[13] So they and non-participating AM stations would go silent during activation of the CONELRAD system. The plan called for all participating stations to switch to one of two frequencies, either 640 kilohertz or 1240 kilohertz, and reduce their operating power to not more that

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[10]"Bill on Air Signals Signed," New York Times, 25 October 1951, 6.

[11]President, Executive Order No. 10312, 10 December 1951.

[12]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1953), 25-6.

[13]AM (amplitude modulation) radio signals use ground waves, which can follow the curvature of the Earth beyond the horizon and therefore travel great distances. FM (frequency modulation) radio signals use direct waves, which follow a line-of-sight path, reaching only as far as the horizon. Television uses ground waves for the video signal and direct waves for the audio signal. Head and Sterling, 120-25.

10,000 watts and usually less than 5,000 watts. This would prevent an enemy plane or guided missile from using a radio compass to "home" on a single station's transmission.

A pilot in this era often tuned his radio compass to the frequency of an AM radio station located in the city for which he was headed. The compass dial would point directly toward the station and thus guide the plane to that city. As long as the aircraft was in range of the station's signal, the compass would point directly toward that city. With high-powered stations and high-altitude aircraft, that range could be better than a thousand miles.[14]

The FCC conducted the first nation-wide test of CONELRAD on September 16, 1953, and found the system performed as expected.[15] In New York City, 26 AM radio stations took part in the test. According to one published report, the needle of the automatic direction finder in an Eastern Air Defense Force C-47 observation plane swung randomly as it tried to "fix" on a steady signal. The pilot said the needle was never steady long enough to identify a transmitter or to provide a navigational bearing for a precision course.[16]

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[14]Harold B. Hinton, "New Radio Plan for Foiling Raiders Keeps Stations on Air in an Attack," New York Times, 3 December 1952, 1.

[15]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1954), 28.

[16]Peter Kihss, "Emergency Radio a Jumbled Success," New York Times, 17 September 1953, p. 36.

Broadcast operators apparently saw value in participating in CONELRAD. Although no station was required to participate, by the time of the first nationwide test in September 1953 more than 1,300 of the nation's 2,100 AM radio stations had joined the CONELRAD system.[17] Participating stations voluntarily spent over $2.5 million to adapt their transmitters to work on the designated CONELRAD frequencies and for equipment to receive the alert signal.[18]

For the next several years, FCC engineers worked to improve the coverage area of CONELRAD. Early tests indicated the broadcast of civil defense information to the public was "adequate" in approximately 80 percent of the cities having CONELRAD stations.[19] The CONELRAD signals traveled between five and 30 miles, with a national average of about 15 miles, but civil defense officials hoped for a larger coverage area.[20]

B. Escalation of the Cold War

Following World War II, the United States had focused on containing the spread of the Soviet empire. The Truman Administration asked Congress and the nation to support an

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[17]Kihss, 36. The FCC reported more than 1,500 stations were participating, but did not specify if this figure referred only to AM stations or also included FM and TV stations. FCC, Annual Report...1953, 27.

[18]Kihss, 36.

[19]FCC, Annual Report...1954.

[20]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1954), 27.

immense expansion of the American military establishment. It justified this by the magnitude of the danger associated with the image of the Soviet Union as an insatiable and unchecked monster that was about to swallow what was left of Europe. However, the administration did not give weight to the deterrent effect of the American atomic capability, which made the prospect of any imminent aggression by Communist ground forces in Europe implausible. The Soviets, meanwhile, were giving top priority to achieving a nuclear capability that could deter and neutralize the American nuclear capability.[21]

So the first half of the 1950s saw the escalation of the Cold War into a nuclear arms race. By the end of 1954, both the United States and the Soviet Union had mastered the production of thermonuclear weapons. The Soviet Union exploded its first hydrogen bomb in 1953. By summer 1955, it had in operation a heavy bomber with a range of 6,000 miles and therefore capable of delivering an atomic payload to American cities.[22]

In the second half of the 1950s, the competition shifted to the production of devices for delivering the nuclear weapons to their targets. The Soviets matched, and perhaps even surpassed, the United States' nuclear capability on October 4, 1957. On that date, Moscow announced the launching of the first man-made earth satellite by means of a carrier rocket. Such a rocket was

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[21]Louis J. Halle, The Cold War as History (New York: Harper and Row, 1991), 259-63.

[22]Ibid., 343.

also capable of delivering a nuclear warhead with considerable accuracy to any target in the U.S. This was the beginning of the "missile gap." The Eisenhower Administration feared that by 1961 the Soviet Union would be so superior in missile capabilities it could destroy the complete U.S. arsenal in one stroke by surprise attack.[23]

Civil Defense thus became a major concern of the federal government during this period. But the public's concern fluctuated based on world events. During the Korean War, 65 percent of Americans were convinced that U.S. cities would be hit with a nuclear bomb if the U.S. was attacked.[24] But in a 1953 study, over 70 percent of the respondents expressed confidence in American defenses against nuclear attack.[25] And in a 1954 nation-wide survey, half of the respondents said that one-third or less of the enemy bombers would get through America's air defense system.[26]

Such attitudes apparently troubled government officials. In a speech at the 1954 Radio-Television News Directors Association

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[23]Ibid., 346-47.

[24]The Public and Civil Defense: A Report Based on Two Sample Surveys in Eleven Major Cities (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1952), 14.

[25]American Institute of Public Opinion Report No. 517, July 1953, in Dorothy V. Brodie, Perceived Effectiveness of America's Defenses (Pittsburgh: Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh, March 1965), pp. 6-7.

[26]Survey of Public Knowledge and Attitudes Concerning Civil Defense (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, 1954), 146-48.

convention in Chicago, the commander of the Continental Air Defense Command asked the broadcast news directors for assistance in providing the public with a greater understanding of the dangers of an air attack.[27]

Little progress had been made by early 1956 when top officials of a scientific group studying civil defense declared the current national effort a failure. Willard Bascom, technical director of the group, said his studies indicated that present warning systems would not reach more than 25 percent of Americans.[28] Perhaps because of this criticism, the FCC amended the CONELRAD system plans to extend communication coverage to a wider area by boosting the power output of one station within a cluster. All other CONELRAD stations would leave the air and maintain radio silence. The FCC believed this would substantially increase the broadcast coverage area.[29]

Concern over the air attack warning system continued to grow throughout the late 1950s as the debate continued on military security of the nation. This was due in part to the Soviet advances in technology, as exemplified in their earth satellite and missile programs. In early 1958, a private study by the Rockefeller Fund urged the government to give greater attention

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[27]"Air Defense Aid Urged," New York Times, 20 November 1954, p. 8.

[28]"Peterson Scored on Civil Defense," New York Times, 9 February 1956, p. 63.

[29]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1957), 27-28.

to early-warning and anti-missile defense systems. The study also called for the immediate start on a program of fall-out shelters and related warning and communications equipment.[30]

In a call for urgent civil defense efforts, Dr. Willard F. Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission said "millions of lives" could be saved by relatively inexpensive precautions, cutting the potential death toll in half. He said people downwind from an atomic blast could escape more drastic effects of fall-out by hiding in basements or shelters. He called for transistor radio manufacturers to build Geiger counters into them so that a person could tell when it was safe to emerge.[31]

Contrary to the concerns of the government, public apathy toward civil defense continued to grow. This was especially evidenced during the annual "Operation Alert" nation-wide civil defense drills, which met with increasing public opposition. Police annually arrested groups of people for refusing to participate in the drills. One arrested woman said she was "sick and tired of being forced underground like a desert rat."[32] A House of Representatives committee even contrasted the Soviet Union's civil defense efforts with the apathy in the United States, saying the Soviets had "an enormous advantage" in event

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[30]Philip Benjamin, "Arms Rise Urged Lest Reds Seize Lead in 2 Years," New York Times, 6 January 1958, p. 1.

[31]"Big Fall-Out Seen in 'Clean' H-Bomb," New York Times, 20 April 1958, p. 24.

[32]Philip Benjamin, "Radio and TV Blacked Out Over U.S.," New York Times, 18 April 1959, p. 1.

of a nuclear war.[33] Even some broadcasters grew weary of the annual CONELRAD tests. One television network, just before signing off as part of the 1959 test, announced it was giving up "valuable time" in order to cooperate with the CONELRAD drill.[34] However, the FCC continued to report the drills were "most successful" and that service areas "extended considerably beyond that predicted."[35] But perhaps because of the broadcast industry weariness, the FCC appointed a National Industry Advisory Committee in May 1958.[36] The purpose of the committee was to formulate and develop emergency plans to "insure the continuity of the Emergency Broadcast System...."[37] The FCC said the NIAC made available the benefit of the "vast talent in the electronic industry" to advise the Commission in its defense communications planning.[38]

During this time of increasing governmental concern over civil defense, the FCC worked to improve public attitude about

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[33]"Soviet Given Big Lead in Civil Defense Plans," New York Times, 23 April 1959, p. 15.

[34]Benjamin, "Radio and TV Blacked Out Over U.S.," p. 3.

[35]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1959), 39.

[36]"'Disaster Blueprint' Approved," Broadcasting, 22 August 1960, p. 57.

[37]The FCC periodically referred to CONELRAD as the Emergency Broadcast or Broadcasting System beginning in the 1959 annual report.

[38]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1960), 31-32.

the civil defense warning systems. In late 1957, CONELRAD finally moved past the test-only phase as the FCC found alternative uses for the system. On December 6, CONELRAD was put to peacetime use for warning communities and areas about "impending threats of nature to public life and property."[39] Under the weather warning plan, all radio and television stations (not just AM stations) would sound the CONELRAD alert, and broadcast emergency weather information over their regular frequencies.[40]

The Commission also helped establish a number of State Defense FM Networks which only operated prior to and following an air attack. These networks typically made use of weather bureau reports, carrying a "live" statewide summary at least once each day from the bureau. The Florida and Atlantic seaboard FM networks were put to their first test under actual emergency during Hurricane Donna in September 1960.[41] The addition of FM stations to the CONELRAD system reportedly came as a result of new technical developments, which called for simple modifications of FM transmission facilities.

Tests were also conducted on several devices to aid the public in case of enemy attack. In cooperation with the Atomic

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[39]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1958), 7.

[40]"War Radio System Turned to Peace Use," New York Times, 7 December 1957, p. 15.

[41]FCC, Annual Report...1960, p. 31.

Energy Commission and the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization (OCDM), the FCC on May 15 announced testing of radio-radiation detectors. These devices would automatically tune to CONELRAD frequencies upon issuance of an alert, and would have built-in Geiger counters to detect the presence of radioactive contamination.[42] The FCC also indicated experiments were being conducted on inexpensive radio receivers that would, when tuned to the frequency of a broadcast station providing weather warnings, remain mute until activated by the tone signal which preceded the weather bulletin.[43]

A patent was granted for such a device in 1961. Inventor A. N. Moore said the device could be built into new radio or television receivers or adapted to existing sets. He said the device would turn on the receiver to its top volume and automatically switch it to the CONELRAD frequencies. The device was triggered by the 1 kiloHertz tone broadcast by all stations in the event of a CONELRAD alert.[44]

The FCC also began to use the national press wire services to provide the alert notification to CONELRAD stations in

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[42]"AM-FM Set Gains Aid CONELRAD Defense," Broadcasting, 18 May 1959, p. 10.

[43]FCC, Annual Report...1958, 23. Similar receivers preset to National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) radio stations are in use today in many homes, offices and schools.

[44]"Inventor Uses Radio for Warning of Raid," New York Times, 26 October 1961, p. 19.

1961.[45] The Associated Press and United Press International press teletype circuits replaced the older telephone alerting system. This system expediated delivery of the alert notification to CONELRAD stations since the teletype networks operated on a continuous basis and most broadcast stations subscribed to at least one of them.[46]

But the problems continued despite these efforts to include the communications industries in FCC planning and to increase the usefulness of CONELRAD.

C. The Demise of CONELRAD

In May 1959, the FCC proposed a method to "standardize" the CONELRAD signal by installing an automatic pushbutton device at a radio station transmitter which would put the station into CONELRAD operation "in seconds," and would automatically trigger home receivers.[47] Broadcasters opposed the idea based on the added cost of the new equipment, estimated between $150 to $1,500.[48]

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[45]There is some dispute over the precise date of implementation of the system. The FCC says May 17. Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1961), 32. But an article in Broadcasting says the first of weekly "shakedown" tests occurred May 14. "CONELRAD Alerting Test," Broadcasting, 15 May 1961, pp. 10-11.

[46]FCC, Annual Report...1961, 32.

[47]"April 17 CONELRAD Covered U.S. 85-90%," Broadcasting, 25 May 1959, p. 9.

[48]"Broadcasters Oppose FCC CONELRAD Plans," Broadcasting, 4 July 1960, pp. 62-63. Originally, the cost of the equipment was to be borne by the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization.

The entire national civil defense program was also under increasing criticism. The Governors Conference Special Committee on Civil Defense called for more active leadership and financial support from the federal government. The committee, headed by New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, said the major obstacle to be overcome in the fall-out shelter construction program was the widespread public sense of frustration as to what should be done. The call came at the same time the White House announced evidence that the U.S.S.R was "stepping up its civil defense program," which gave Soviet arms negotiators assurance that their country could withstand attack.[49]

Two months later, U.S. Representative Chet Holifield, a constant critic of the federal civil defense program, said civil defense was in "deplorable shape."[50] His comments were supported by several public opinion surveys. In a 1956 national survey, the University of Michigan asked respondents to assess civil defense. Almost eight in ten said there should definitely be more civil defense preparation. Only 16 percent felt the current civil defense status was adequate.[51] In a 1961 study by the American Institute of Public Opinion, respondents were asked how civil defense was being handled in their local areas. More

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"April 17 CONELRAD," p. 9.

[49]"U.S. Urged to Spur Fall-Out Protection," New York Times, 26 January 1960, p. 1.

[50]"Holifield Cites Lag in Shelter Building," New York Times, 29 March 1960, p. 41.

[51]University of Michigan, Study 418, 1956, in Brodie, p. 68.

than half the respondents had little of no knowledge of local civil defense programs.[52]

Given the public's attitude toward civil defense and the criticism of CONELRAD, it is not surprising the government began questioning the effectiveness of the system. A 1960 Johns Hopkins University report prepared for the United State Army said existing air-raid warning systems were inadequate to defend against missiles.[53] It recommended the abolition of CONELRAD, substituting pre-taped radio AND television warning broadcasts. The report said CONELRAD transmissions were weak in some areas, and that many broadcasting stations experienced delays in switching to CONELRAD. It also said CONELRAD's second mission, denying radio navigation aid, was largely obsolete since modern enemy ballistic missiles used no terminal radio guidance.[54]

Three studies of CONELRAD were commissioned by the government from Johns Hopkins. Their findings were summarized in a 1961 Broadcasting article. The research examined the whole rationale of CONELRAD. It came at a time when there was a feeling throughout the broadcast industry that CONELRAD, as it was originally set up in 1951, had served its purpose.[55]

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[52]American Institute of Public Opinion, Report 644, May 1961, in Brodie, p. 68.

[53]Jack Raymond, "U.S. Says Russians Plan Anti-Missile," New York Times, 15 October 1960, p. 3.

[54]Peter Braestrup, "Air Alert System Termed 'Unsound,'" New York Times, 3 November 1960, p. 9.

[55]"CONELRAD: Are its Days Numbered?" Broadcasting, 10 April 1961, pp. 60-64.

The Johns Hopkins research gave three reasons why CONELRAD no longer served its original dual function. First among these was that neither Canada nor Mexico had a CONELRAD program. This weakened the denial aspects, since enemy aircraft or guided missiles could use Canadian or Mexican broadcasts to obtain a "fix" on the U.S. Second, in 1950 it made an appreciable difference in damage on a target city whether a bomb hit directly on target or three miles away. In 1961, with megaton bombs, that once-critical difference was negligible. Third, the idea that FM and TV stations must sign off during an enemy attack was erroneous. In order for an enemy to utilize those signals for homing purposes, he would have to use antennas and equipment "utterly unmanageable" aboard a missile or an airplane. The study also pointed out that enemy agents could plant automatic, unattended homing beacon transmitters anywhere they desired, which further lessened the need for CONELRAD.[56]

The studies were criticized by civil defense officials, who claimed they were prepared with the help of high school and college students. In a copyrighted story, the Battle Creek (Mich.) Enquirer and News quoted an unnamed civil defense official as having said, "It is amazing to think that children were allowed to sit in judgement on our national nerve network."[57]

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[56]Ibid., pp. 60-62.

[57]"Schoolboys Aided Report for Army," New York Times, 27 November 1960, p. 56. Battle Creek was the national headquarters of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization.

The FCC makes no mention of these reports until April 23, 1962. On that date, the Department of Defense issued a "response to a request by the Commission" on the continuing need for CONELRAD. In this report, the Department of Defense found "there is no longer a need to minimize the use of electromagnetic radiation from radio transmitters as navigational aids to an enemy." As a result, the FCC began a review of existing CONELRAD "plans, rules and manuals."[58]

D. Emergence of EBS

Although the Johns Hopkins studies determined CONELRAD was obsolete, they did not call for an end to a civil defense alerting system. In fact, the university's report stated that in order for the populace to survive in a nuclear attack, it must be given information on what to expect and what to do as promptly as possible. The best way of doing this, the report stressed, is through radio and TV.[59]

At the start of the 1960s, people were beginning to weary of the Cold War, and to ask what sense it made. The hysterical anti-Communism that had gripped the American people at the beginning of the 1950s had largely spent itself by the beginning

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[58]Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1962), 33.

[59]"CONELRAD: Are its Days Numbered?" p. 62.

of the 1960s. There was an increasing disposition to move in the direction of reasonable peace on the basis of live-and-let-live.[60]

It was also a period of what an American strategic expert called "the delicate balance of terror." During this period, which lasted roughly from 1958 to 1963, both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. held in their hands an armament which could destroy either nation in one cataclysmic stroke. The supreme advantage lay with the side that struck first.[61] It was in this climate, then, that John F. Kennedy stepped into the presidency.

Kennedy considered civil defense vital. His obligations as President did not permit him to ignore the protection of human lives while protecting weapons of war. He did not expect an attack, but he was always aware of the danger of escalation, miscalculation, or accidental war.[62]

In a May 25, 1961 address to Congress, Kennedy called for shelters as a new form of "survival insurance" against the hazards of radioactive fallout. He said the public had been apathetic, indifferent and skeptical of the variety of civil defense programs supported by the federal government during the 1950s. But, Kennedy said, the shelter plan was insurance "we

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[60]Halle, 388-94.

[61]Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 43, January 1959.

[62]Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 613-14.

could never forgive ourselves for foregoing in the event of catastrophe."[63]

This plea was repeated in Kennedy's television address on the Berlin crisis on July 25, 1961.[64] Earlier both Truman and Eisenhower had urged civil defense measures, only to have the nation regard the problem with supreme boredom. In the Berlin context, civil defense acquired a frightening reality. A condition of national panic seemed to be forming.[65]

The Kennedy Administration thus modified its civil defense policy to a less urgent approach. The White House and Pentagon began to believe an imminent Soviet nuclear attack was unlikely and therefore "insurance" against such an attack could be approached on a long-term basis. Kennedy also believed the nation had been sufficiently aroused--even alarmed--by the calls for civil defense action and by the resumption of Soviet nuclear tests.[66]

Meanwhile, the government put forth plans to build fallout shelters for key radio stations based on their relation to CONELRAD. The original plan called for shelters to be built in

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[63]"Kennedy Address to Congress" (transcript), New York Times, 26 May 1961, p. 12, and Sorenson, p. 614.

[64]Sorenson, pp. 614-15.

[65]Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), 745-49.

[66]Ibid., and "U.S. Modifies Plan on Shelter Data," New York Times, 1 January 1962, p. 7.

four prototype stations in 1962, 100 in 1963, and 700 in 1964.[67]

The fate of CONELRAD had yet to be officially announced. But it was clear a new system was being planned to replace CONELRAD. FCC Commissioner Robert T. Bartley told state broadcaster association presidents that a revision of CONELRAD was in the works so that its basic mission, denial of navigation aid enemy airplanes, is no longer necessary.[68]

A month later, FCC Defense Commissioner Robert T. Bartley told the 1962 National Broadcasters Association convention CONELRAD was doomed. He said the government had reached that conclusion, but had not yet worked out the details of a new warning system. The government would finance the new system, he said, which would be much more reliable and dependable than CONELRAD.[69]

The official announcement of CONELRAD's end was made by the FCC and the Department of Defense on April 23, 1962. A new plan had still not been completed, due in large part to the FCC not having received an official list of requirements from civil

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[67]"U.S. to Shelter 800 AMs," Broadcasting, 5 March 1962, pp. 72-74. The FCC claimed eventually 1,500 to 1,800 stations would have shelters in its Fiscal Year 1964 report, but reduced that figure to 658 in its Fiscal Year 1965 report. Federal Communications Commission, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1964), 39, and FCC, Annual Report of the Federal Communications Commission for the Fiscal Year (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1965), 28.

[68]"U.S. to Shelter 800 AMs," p. 72.

[69]'CONELRAD Doomed, Bartley Tells AM Session," Broadcasting, 9 April 1962, p. 66.

defense authorities. The announcement stated that, under the new plan, FM stations would likely be used exclusively for defense communications instead of broadcasts to the public, and TV stations would likely be required to sign off. AM stations would continue to supply information to the public.[70]

The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 once again intensified the call for a national civil defense program. Civil defense agencies took steps to speed lagging programs as a result of the crisis. Many agencies, which had been meeting with public indifference, were kept busy answering questions about fallout shelters.[71] The FCC also stepped up plans for the new emergency communications system as a result of the crisis.[72]

A special broadcast industry committee, formed from members of NIAC, began working to draw up plans for a new alerting system in February 1963. The committee was instructed by the Department of Defense to investigate the feasibility of a broadcast warning system which would provide an instantaneous alarm on a 24-hour-a-day basis with a capability of covering 98 percent of the population.[73] One of the major elements in the planning of the new alerting system was the establishment transmission standards

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[70]"The End of CONELRAD," Broadcasting, 30 April 1962, pp. 44-6.

[71]"Crisis Spotlights Civil Defense Lag," New York Times, 24 October 1962, p. 26, and "Homeowners Get Fallout Advice," New York Times, 25 October 1962, p. 14.

[72]FCC, Annual Report...1962, p. 37.

[73]"Replacement for CONELRAD in Planning Stage," Broadcasting, 4 February 1963, p. 63.

to actuate radio and TV receivers. A key factor in the research was how to reach receivers that are not turned on.[74]

Four months later, the plan was ready. On July 3, 1963 the FCC amended part 3 of its broadcast rules to substitute the new Emergency Broadcast System provisions for the outdated CONELRAD.[75] The new system opened the entire broadcast band, instead of only 640 and 1240 kiloHertz, to stations authorized to stay on the air during an attack. Under the new plan, all AM, FM and TV stations authorized to operate would stay on the air at their normally assigned frequencies during an attack. They would be permitted to identify themselves geographically, but not use call letters because all stations in a specified locale would broadcast the same material from a single source.[76]

The plan also contained a special provision for continuing the emergency weather warnings provided on the CONELRAD system.[77] The AP and UPI wire services were to continue to be utilized for notification and authentication of alerts.[78]

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[74]"NIAC Group Studies New Warning System," Broadcasting, 18 February 1963, p. 40.

[75]FCC, Annual Report...1963, p. 35.

[76]"AM Radio Band Will Replace 2-Station CONELRAD," New York Times, 4 July 1963, p. 7, and FCC, Annual Report...1963, pp. 34-35. The Times article indicated FM and TV stations would be required to go off the air. Original plans called for this as a first step in implementing the new plan, but only until such time as FM and TV stations were equipped for EBS.

[77]FCC, Annual Report...1963, p. 35.

[78]"New Emergency System on Horizon," Broadcasting, 24 June 1963, pp. 93-94.

The new EBS plan became effective August 5, 1963, the termination date of the CONELRAD program. It has continued largely unchanged to this day.

V. CONCLUSIONS

This research project examined published documents related to the development of the Emergency Broadcast System, which were corroborated with historical accounts of the Cold War during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Inferences were then drawn from this evidence to produce plausible explanations for the change from CONELRAD to EBS.

The project found that the Federal Communications Commission established EBS to replace CONELRAD because of the changing needs of national and civil defense. CONELRAD's primary purpose was to deny navigation aid to enemy aircraft through the control of electromagnetic radiation from broadcast stations. CONELRAD was created and upgraded parallel to the Cold War. As concern over imminent nuclear attack grew, so did the need for CONELRAD. However, as these fears subsided, so did the need for CONELRAD.

Three Johns Hopkins University studies determined CONELRAD's primary purpose was no longer necessary, and the system thus became obsolete. But the studies also determined the best way to notify the public of an impending attack was through the broadcast media. Thus, a new program was devised which would allow government officials to maintain communications with the public during a national emergency.

The only true use of both programs has been for severe

weather notification. This use continues today, and still points up problems with the system. Broadcasters are again calling for a new system since the current EBS often contains incomplete or lagging warnings before and during hurricane and tornado watches, the World Series earthquake in San Francisco, and other local and regional emergencies.[79] It may once again be time to examine the usefulness of the Emergency Broadcast System.

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[79]Peter Lambert, "New EBS Technology Vying for Adoption," Broadcasting, 9 December 1991, pp. 48-49.

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Radio Homemaker Programming: Old Time Radio's Ingredient for Attracting Women Listeners

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Radio Homemaker Programming:
Old Time Radio's Ingredient for Attracting Women Listeners

Introduction

Early radio broadcasters of the East Coast networks produced shows featuring philharmonic orchestras and dance bands, comedies and soap operas, fashion programs and children's adventure shows.

Small stations in the Midwest competed on the airwaves with programs for the Midwest. There were shows like "Comedy Capers," featuring "Bill Ozark, the original slow brain through Arkansas" on KFPW or the more serious "Old Folks at Home" with special messages for shut-ins (Poindexter, 1974). There was Frank Field's morning weather and gardening program (KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa), which signed on with the 7:10 AM whistle of Burlington engine #101 passing through town (R. Birkby, 1985). And there were radio homemakers, like Florence Falk, "The Farmer's Wife," who broadcast recipes and chitchat from her farmhouse with the assistance of "The Red Rooster" and family dog Tippy (E. Birkby, 1991). And while there were network homemaking shows and similar local homemaker shows all across the country, it was in the "Breadbasket" states that this programming made its strongest appeal, so that stations in the Central States often had several homemaker shows during the day, hiring their own talent or picking up syndicated homemakers from Midwestern companies like Tidy House, Inc. These programs were the key ingredient to winning the woman audience to daytime radio listening.

Women like Florence Falk, women who went on the air as "radio

their jobs, where and what they found for program contents, when they went on (and off) the air. We learn about their listenerships, the intensity of audience response, the effects on their audience share of the onslaughts of television and feminism, and we learn how these women see the future of women's programming in local radio.

We learn that these broadcasters often had no particular experience at housekeeping or "domestic science," though some had journalism degrees. The station manager's wife or a receptionist might be drafted for the job. This hiring practice led to many unexpected moments in the programs. The homemakers were not always paid, and even if they were, they often had to buy their own eggs and butter for cooking "live" on the air or to make cookies for the hundreds of "radio friends" who would visit the stations or drop by the homemaker's own homes, feeling as if they were good friends of these women broadcasters.

Listeners wrote in as many as 3,000 letters a week to the homemakers we interviewed, and Edith Hansen of the "Tidy House" syndicated homemaker show received more than 30,000 birthday greetings on her 49th birthday in 1950 (E. Birkby, 1991, p. 117).

But the changing social values of the 1960s brought cutbacks in air time and rethinking of program contents. We talk with these broadcasters to learn how they weathered the storm of early feminism and whether the 1990s have brought new counsel and acceptance of the role of homemaker on the air.

Three kinds of histories exist that record the programming for women on radio. The first is the network-focused account. Rouse (1979) provides the only scholarly work of this kind on women's programming, with her article on network syndications of prominent

shows, outlining the various formats and topics of women's programs.

The second form of documentation is the catalog of network programs, which includes--among others--the programs for women (cf, Summers, 1971; Terrace, 1981). Very little information accompanies the program listings.

The third type of history that records women's radio programming is the individual history or history of the individual station, that is, the reminiscence. KMA radio in Shenandoah, Iowa, has been fortunate to have its own historians: Evelyn Birkby, with her book of recipes and reminiscence (1991) and her son Robert's history of the station (1985). Other individual reminiscences do mention women's programming (cf, Higby, 1968; Poindexter, 1974), but make no attempt to summarize or analyze these shows.

That attempt is made here, where 14 radio homemakers were interviewed, all from the Central States (Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Kansas). They were located by contacting the oldest stations in each state, by contacting Evelyn Birkby (author of Neighboring on the Air), and through references from university extension offices and acquaintances of the senior author of this article, who has worked in Midwestern radio for 25 years. Oral history interviews were conducted with all 14 of the homemakers located, and commonalities of the radio homemaking experience are reported here. Additional materials used include program guides from stations carrying homemaker-type shows, letters from listeners, and, to a lesser extent, written reminiscences.

Recruitment of Radio Homemakers

Women recruited into radio homemaking roles most often worked

at their stations in some other capacity before being tapped to go on the air as homemakers. Jessie Young of KMA was a singer, Bernice Currier a concert violinist, Billie Oakley a country singer doing live radio music, Doris Murphy a newscaster, Jo Freed a station secretary, and Mary Williams a newspaper writer (E. Birkby, 1991).

Iris Stanton of KALN in Iola, Kansas (the station manager's wife), was hired as a receptionist, bookkeeper, log-keeper, copywriter--"a girl Friday" (Stanton, 1992)--before going on the air as a homemaker. At first, she was joined on the air by a co-host--the wife of one of the salesmen (Stanton, 1992). Likewise, Vernadell Yarrow of KCLY in Clay Center, Kansas was hired as a station receptionist before becoming a radio homemaker (and later, the station manager) (Yarrow, 1992). Betty Yates was hired at KMMO in Marshall, Missouri, as a secretary/bookkeeper, and the station decided to save a salary, replacing its current radio homemaker by adding the show to Yates' other duties in 1950 (Yates, 1992).

Other homemakers were also relatives of station owners, like Leanna Field Driftmier, sister of Henry Field, whose seed and grain company owned KFNF, with her show "Kitchen Klatter;" Helen Field Fischer, another of Henry's sisters, with "The Mother's Hour;" and Gertrude May, wife of the founder of KMA (R. Birkby, 1985).

Homemaker shows sometimes "ran in families." Leanna Field Driftmier's "Kitchen Klatter" program was carried on by her daughter Lucille Drifttttmmmmmmmmmmmmmiiiiiiiiiiier Verness and later by her grandc Verness (E. Birkby, 1991).

A few women were tapped from outside the stations. Pearl Madsen had been doing a monthly newsletter. She went on the air for

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the Super Value Store, doing ads for Christmas trees, and was soon hired away by the station to do her own show (Madsen, 1992). Evelyn Birkby was a newspaper columnist in Shenandoah, Iowa, writing a column for farm women, when the KMA women's director called and asked her to do a show. Florence Falk first went on the air to appeal for help after her family's farm was devastated by a tornado. Liking her "down home" speech, the station manager hired her as a radio homemaker (E. Birkby, 1992).

Sometimes, however, radio homemakers had training and expertise in "domestic science." Marilyn Lee got her start in radio when she received a letter from KMA seeking women with home economics degrees to audition for a program (Lee, 1992). Martha Bohlsen of WOW (and later the Tidy House company's program) held a degree in nutrition before starting her show "Martha's Kitchen" (E. Birkby, 1991). Brenda McConahay (1992) had been a home economics teacher and, unable to find a teaching job in her hometown of Clarinda, Iowa, landed a job as a homemaker at KQIS, later becoming the Women's Director at KMA.

Many of the women had never been on the air before. "I had never even been inside a radio station before," said McConahay (1992). "I had never even seen a microphone." Facing the airwaves with no experience in radio and no training in home economics required a forgiving audience. Evelyn Birkby (1992) said,

> One of the things that saved me was that I never pretended to be a specialist. I went to the farm as a neophyte...knew nothing about farm living or how to garden or can or do all those things that farm women seem to have had a special knack of doing. And so I learned....When I became a radio homemaker, I did the same thing. I said, 'I'm new at this and I'll need your help.'

Only two radio homemakers among those we located were trained

broadcast journalists. Joanie Ballion earned her degree at Brown Institute of Broadcasting in Minneapolis in the early 1960s, where she was the only woman among 400 male students (Ballion, 1992). Tiring of a station management job at tiny KJAM in Madison, South Dakota, she put an ad in Broadcasting magazine and was hired by KMA as head of women's programming in 1966, soon going on the air with a homemaking program (Ballion, 1992). Wynn Spease minored in radio at Drake University in Des Moines before going to work for WNAX (Spease, 1992).

Folksy Radio for the Rural Midwest

Radio homemaker programs allowed stations serving the rural Midwest the opportunity to reach out and touch the very heart of the agrarian economy: the farm family. In the 1920s, when radio was in its infancy, nearly a third of all U.S. families lived on farms and worked in agriculture (Oppenheimer, 1970). Although stations employed several programming tactics to enhance their appeal to the farm sector, the radio homemaker was perhaps the most noteworthy, simply because such programs allowed radio to do what local radio does best: "visit" with the listener. The women who broadcasters employed to produce daily programs were--first and foremost--conversationalists. They were the epitome of radio's one-to-one style of communication, capable of engaging in an affable one-sided chat before a microphone for several minutes a day.

Station managers liked the homemaker programming concept for another reason: such shows were instrumental in garnering advertising revenue. Advertisers--intent upon reaching the member of the household most likely to make family shopping decisions--

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sought to buy time on these programs because of their strong appeal to women. Although local merchants were most likely to sponsor homemaker programs (Madsen, 1992; Stanton, 1992; Yarrow, 1992), stations capable of reaching vast sections of the country, such as WANX or KMA (each with listening areas encompassing five states), often attracted national advertisers. Wynn Spease (1992) of WANX, for example, recalls advertising yard goods for a textile mill in North Carolina, as well as airing commercials for nylon stockings, household cleaning products and plastic bags.[1]

The homespun nature of radio homemaker programs is suggested by the names that were affixed to them. As mentioned earlier, Florence Falk called herself "The Farmer's Wife" ("KMA Program Guide," 1959). Evelyn Birkby's (1992) long-running show was called "Down a Country Lane." Wynn Spease (1992) has been known to her listeners for 52 years as the "Neighbor Lady." Pearl Madsen (1992) called her show "Pearl's Country Kitchen," while Iris Stanton's (1992) daily program was known as "Time Out with Iris." Vernadell Yarrow--who continues to broadcast--calls her program "Coffee Time," which is followed by a short community events program known as "Tea Time" (Yarrow, 1992). Brenda Kay McConahay (1992) conducted a contest among her listeners to suggest a name for her program. The winning entry was "Living Today with Brenda Kay."

The folksy charm of these programs was often deliberately enhanced by the way they were produced. It was not uncommon for early day homemaker programs to be broadcast directly from the announcer's home. Florence Falk and Deanna Driftmier broadcast from their kitchens, where the KMA microphone was prominently

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displayed (Birkby, 1991). "Pug" Phillips' daily program on KJCK in Junction City, Kansas, emanated from remote broadcasting equipment installed in her guest bedroom (Wright, 1992). Wynn Spease broadcast from her home for nearly 25 years, a tradition that was begun by the WANX general manager, who feared Spease might quit broadcasting once she got married and decided to begin a family. Spease recalls that in addition to making it easier to balance her roles as household manager, parent and broadcaster, having the remote microphone in her house added a certain charm to her "Neighbor Lady" broadcasts:

> [Broadcasting from home] was so wonderful...I could sit in my dining room and look out the window and broadcast... when my children came home from school each day, I would put them on the air a little bit...It was really a wonderful arrangement...(Spease, 1992).

In addition to their homespun appeal, radio homemaker programs featured information that was vital to the operation of the rural household. Although program content varied from station to station, one mainstay of radio domesticity over the years has been recipes and nutrition information. In fact, early day radio programs were almost entirely centered around the art of creative cooking (Birkby, 1991; Madsen, 1992; Oakley, 1992; Spease, 1992).

Most announcers simply read recipes to their listeners. But some pioneer homemakers added a realistic touch that sounds incredible when considering the sightless nature of radio: they conducted cooking demonstrations on the air. Apparently it mattered little that their listeners were unable to see the cooking demonstrations. Using their "gift of gab" to describe their procedures, in combination with the listeners' imagination,

the skillful radio homemaker was able to make her cooking demonstrations come to life, another example of radio's "theater of the mind." Pearl Madsen (1992) regularly cooked on her programs:

> We talked about [the food] on the air...people would sample it...we would visit back and forth as we were mixing and cutting. We talked about how good [the food] smelled as it came out of the oven....

Verlene Looker (1992) recalls that the implausibility of cooking on the radio was made more believable by the use of sound. Looker had an extra microphone in her kitchen to pick up the ambience of the kitchen and her work. One early day KMA homemaker who demonstrated cooking on the air, Jesse Young, disliked the idea of making a mess in her kitchen and the cleanup that followed. Therefore, Young only pretended to go through the process of preparing food, clanging pots and pans, cooking utensils and other kitchen equipment to create the illusion that she was mixing ingredients (Oakley, 1992).

Cost-conscious station managers were usually reluctant to provide homemakers with a budget to acquire ingredients for their shows (Oakley, 1992). Therefore, most women who cooked on the air would serve their daily creations to their families. Billie Oakley and Pearl Madsen (1992) often tested new recipes in their homes, a popular idea with neighborhood children if the experimental recipe happened to be cookies, pies or cakes.[2]

As a station promotion, Oakley, as well as other KMA homemakers, often staged "cooking schools" or "cookie festivals," where they conducted public cooking demonstrations in large auditoriums before an audience of faithful listeners. Oakley recalls one such event that met with disaster:

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> I had a recipe for a bourbon cake...it was kind of like a fruit cake...it had a bunch of high-powered bourbon in it. I was mixing up the cake and the bourbon was really coming up my nose...All of a sudden there was the worst "bang" I had ever heard...It (another bourbon cake baking in the oven that had been made with the same recipe) blew the oven door open!

While recipes were a common ingredient of homemaker shows, these programs often contained a potpourri of other kinds of information that touched the listeners' lives. At stations in smaller communities, audience members' birthdays and anniversaries and a calendar of local events were often included (Stanton, 1992; Yarrow, 1992). Pearl Madsen (1992) and Evelyn Birkby (1992) included sewing hints on their programs. (In fact, Madsen eventually produced another program devoted exclusively to sewing.) Household hints and family living information contained in releases from the state Cooperative Extension Service proved to be a valuable aid in program preparation (Ballion, 1992; Stanton, 1992; Yates, 1992; Yarrow, 1992).[3] But the greatest source of material for these programs was often the listeners themselves. Feedback from the audience provided a considerable amount information, each letter containing the latest recipe, a helpful hint or a program idea (Ballion, 1992; Birkby, 1992; Oakley, 1992; McConahay, 1992).

Companionship Over the Airwaves

A radio homemaker was--above all--a companion, an invisible friend who knew the joys and problems of farm life. Most women who hosted these programs--especially in the early days--were either farm wives themselves or had grown up in rural areas. In most cases they were mothers, capable of relating to the problems associated with rearing children and managing a household. It

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was this ability to share from personal experience, combined with the ability to chat before a microphone, that fostered a unique friendship between the homemaker and thousands of listeners.

Little did it matter that the conversation coming from the radio was one-sided. Listeners found ways to talk back to their radio friends, responding primarily through the mail, but also with an occasional telephone call or perhaps in person when the radio homemaker made a public appearance.

Through interaction with the audience, homemakers discovered that they affected listeners' lives in ways they could never anticipate. Iris Stanton (1992) recalls a special relationship with a sightless young girl who listened regularly to Stanton's "Time Out with Iris" broadcasts:

> I don't know why, but she really got attached to me...that went on for several years. And, you know, I never did get to meet her, but her grandmother said (the little girl) always wished she could meet me. That always kind of touched me.

Verlene Looker (1992) recalls a similar situation, where a young multiple sclerosis patient became one of Looker's greatest admirers:

> His name was Matthew...[His mother and grandmother] kept him in the home. They would listen to the homemaker shows on the radio, and Matthew developed an interest in my voice. One time we were at a grocery store in Omaha, and they brought him into the store...they said, "All you have to do is just speak and Matthew will know who you are." It was gratifying...we would receive Christmas cards and an update of how Matthew was doing. I still have contact with that family....

Early day homemakers received a considerable amount of mail from listeners asking for advice about personal problems (Birkby, 1992). Billie Oakley (1992) received so much of this type of correspondence that she often thought she was in the business of

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giving advice rather than providing information about homemaking. Oakley recalls an instance where she tried to personally intervene in a family crisis:

> A grandmother kept calling me and telling me..."I know my son-in-law is going to kill (my grandchild) with the things he does to it"...I called police and talked to all the people I could [who might be able to do something about the situation]...Unfortunately, [nothing was done] the baby did die....

The mutual care that existed between broadcaster and listener was perhaps the biggest reward to be gained from a job that offered little in monetary compensation. Just as the homemaker uniquely touched the lives of her audience, listeners often reciprocated in their own special ways. Brenda McConahay (1992) recalls that at least two babies born to listeners in Southwest Iowa were named "Brenda Kay" in her honor. When Joanie Ballion (1992) joined the staff of KMA, she was deluged with pictures of area bachelors, the sons of women who learned that Ballion was not married. When Wynn Spease's (1992) first daughter was born, a loyal listener contacted other audience members and urged them to send baby gifts to the station. Spease received hundreds of gifts in what was perhaps the first "radio baby shower."

Unfortunately, few--if any--audience measurement studies exist that provide an accurate demographic profile of the people who listened to radio homemaker programs. But listener feedback indicates that while the typical audience was obviously dominated by women, such programming also attracted male listeners. Pearl Madsen (1992) recalls that a significant number of requests for copies of recipes aired on her show came from men. Sue Jones and Marilyn Lee (1992) remember hearing from a county judge, who,

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en route on official business, pulled over to the side of the road to jot down the ingredients of a recipe he heard on their program. Billie Oakley (1992) recounts one of the more amusing stories regarding a male listener:

> I was on the air one day giving an old Czechoslovakian recipe for pickled eggs...I made it (the recipe) sound really good...I got off the air and I got a call from this gentleman...He told me "I was in the middle of the field and you started giving that recipe for those pickled eggs...I jumped off the tractor and wrote the recipe in the dust of the hood of the tractor [with my finger]...then I got back on that tractor and rode like a demon back to that house and told my wife 'You get that recipe off (the tractor) and make some pickled eggs!'"

Only three of the women interviewed for this study continue to broadcast. Some of these announcers left the air when their shows were canceled, while others simply left their radio jobs to pursue other careers. Perhaps the greatest indicator of the popularity these women enjoyed in their heyday is the fact that they still continue to interact with their former listeners. It is not uncommon for the distinctive voices of Betty Yates (1992) or Iris Stanton (1992) to be recognized by a former listener in the grocery store. Verlene Looker (1992) and Pearl Madsen (1992) continue to receive mail and telephone calls from former listeners inquiring about memorable recipes or household hints. Sue Jones (1992) and Marilyn Lee (1992) continue to receive mail from fans of their off-the-air show. Apparently, the camaraderie between the radio homemaker and her audience is a relationship destined to last for a lifetime.

The Beginning of the End

As indispensable as radio homemaking once was to rural Midwestern radio, this type of programming, ironically, has all but vanished. Vernadell Yarrow continues her daily broadcasts in Clay Center, Billie Oakley still broadcasts in Shenandoah and Wynn Spease's long-running program continues in Yankton. But in other small markets, the radio homemaker--the bearer of friendly chatter, household hints and recipes for rural women--was a programming format destined for change and eventual extinction.

Social changes nascent in the 1950s grew into the "third wave" of the women's movement by the late 1960s (cf, Kessler, 1984; Friedan, 1990). The radio homemaker's audience had changed dramatically in terms of availability and lifestyle by the late 1960s.

Women's participation in the working world had been slowly but steadily growing throughout the 20th century, from 20 percent of women 14 years and older in the labor force at the turn of the century to 29 percent in 1950 to 35 pecent by 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940, 1960). Also, the number of potential listeners living on farms was rapidly falling, from a potential 28 percent in 1920 down to 14 percent by 1950, dropping to only 9.5 percent by 1960 (Lebergott, 1964). The remaining rural women had been gradually moving into off-farm occupations, so that by 1974, 23 percent of the farm women remaining in the potential audience were working off the farm ("What Farmers Are Saying," 1992).

And as the listeners' lives and interests changed, so did the contents of the homemaker programs. Listeners--accustomed to hearing household hints and cookie recipes--instead heard increased discussion of consumer issues, family nutrition, daycare, planned

parenthood and political issues (Ballion, 1992; McConahay, 1992). When the unstable farm economy became increasingly so in the 1980s, many more farm women sought outside employment to earn a second income to help make ends meet. By 1992, farm families reported that 46.6 percent of the women living on farms were working off the farm, twice as many as in 1974 ("What Farmers Are Saying," 1992). Thus, the old ideal of the stay-at-home "homemaker" (cf, "Should Married Women Work?", 1940; Stirling, 1963), stereotypically enslaved in her kitchen doing household chores, had begun to give way to a reality of working women.

The women who entered broadcasting in the 1960s were very conscious of these social changes. The new generation of radio "homemakers" who came into broadcasting in the 1960s were intent upon providing a different kind of program, with information that reflected their views of the new woman's role. DeAnn Wright (1991) recalls that when she went to work as the "women's director" at Kansas State University's station KSAC in 1970, she immediately had the job title on her office door nameplate changed to "family living," an appellation she felt to be more appropriate:

> I was really rather embarrassed about it (the title of "women's director") because I didn't direct women... [family living] was my focus, because no matter if we work outside the home or in the home, we are concerned about our families...

Some radio programs reflected this change by taking on new names. Instead of titles suggesting a heavy emphasis on household chores, new names like "Living Today," "Lifestyles," and "Family Living" became the norm (Jones, 1992; Lee, 1992; Looker, 1992; McConahay, 1992).

Brenda McConahay (1992) was active in the women's movement when she entered broadcasting in the late 1960s. Being recently married, she realized that working women still spent a considerable amount of time doing housework, and, therefore, appreciated hearing recipes and other domestic information. But McConahay's program reflected the new direction in her listeners' lives by providing more information on how to save time in doing housework. Equally important to her program was coverage of such issues as planned parenthood and women's rights (including an interview with Gloria Steinem) in an effort to "open the doors and get women to think politically" about the issues affecting women and their families:

> I know I picked up a lot of listeners who had never listened to radio homemaking...The [classic] radio homemaker...spent most of the time chatting for the woman who was at home...I wanted to be their friend but I also wanted them to learn something. It was a real challenge, because the women who were my grandmother's age were wanting that chatty, personal stuff with the recipes. The women my age kind of appreciated the new focus.

By the time Sue Jones (1992) and Marilyn Lee (1992) joined the staff of KMA in the late 1980s, the new role of the radio homemaker was well established. KMA was offering the traditional fare of household hints on another program for its older listeners. With those needs being served elsewhere, Jones and Lee were free to focus their attention primarily on the younger listener, discussing both family and community issues.

Radio station managers and program directors responded to the changing lifestyle of the audience by either reducing the amount of time devoted to radio homemaker programs or deleting such offerings all together. Wynn Spease's long-running "Neighbor

Lady" show in WANX was shortened from 50 minutes to only six minutes in the early 1970s (Spease, 1992), while Iris Stanton's "Time Out with Iris" was cut from KALN's program schedule in 1973, a decision made when the station was sold to new owners (Stanton, 1992). Betty Yates' (1992) "Party Line" show on KSIS in Sedalia was transformed from traditional homemaker offerings to a "community affairs" format in the early 1970s, where she conducted daily interviews with community leaders and discussed local issues.

The demographic and psychographic shifts in the listening audience that fostered programming changes in local radio were accompanied by new trends occurring within the broadcasting industry. Broadcasters of this era continually sought to reach younger audiences, since appealing to such demographics often resulted in increased revenue. Station managers striving for youthful appeal looked upon blocks of talk programming with great contempt, since such programs stopped the flow of music and younger audiences (who tend to prefer longer sets of music) were more likely to tune out (Christensen, 1992; Keith, 1987; MacFarland, 1990).

Broadcasters additionally complained that homemaker shows, as well as all locally originated information programming, were expensive to produce. But program guidelines established long ago by the Federal Communications Commission mandated that broadcasters devote a certain percentage of their schedules to news, public affairs, and instructional programming (a classification most easily exemplified by radio homemaker programs, since their content was, above all, instructional in nature). Managers and program directors, therefore, found radio

domesticity to be a form of programming that most easily allowed them to meet federal programming quotas (Christensen, 1992).

But Ronald Reagan's election to the Presidency in 1980 begat sweeping changes in broadcast programming, as a conservative-dominated FCC deregulated the broadcasting industry (Head & Sterling, 1990). Many operational rules that had governed broadcasting--including program quotas--were eliminated. This action freed broadcasters to streamline their program schedules by eliminating information blocks, and many station managers did just that. Dee Ann Wright (1991) recalls that "Ideas Unlimited," her syndicated show devoted to discussion of family living topics, was dropped by a number of Kansas broadcasters following deregulation. Bill Sanders, the station manager at KICD in Spencer, Iowa, ended that station's longtime commitment to homemaker programming by canceling shows dealing with domestic issues (Madsen, 1992).

Despite these industry trends, the long tradition of radio homemaking survived at KMA, as that station continued to devote an hour of its daily program schedule to discussion of domestic issues. But in July of 1991, KMA's new station manager, Susan Christensen, reduced the homemaker program to only five minutes. The move was based upon audience research predicting KMA would enjoy a more competitive market position if the station played more music and featured less talk programming:

> Daycare, household management and those sorts of things that were women's topics are now shared by both male and female members of the partnership...homemakers' lives have changed. In my opinion, it would be ridiculous for [KMA] not to change the way we serve those listeners. I can't imagine that a woman in the workforce considers recipes to be the beginning and end of her life... (Christensen, 1992)

KMA's listeners--many of whom had listened to radio homemaker programs all their lives and had grown dependent upon such offerings--were predictably furious, their anger reflected in complaint letters sent to Christensen:

> I understand that we [now] have a lady as program director. That is why I am surprised at the decision made to discontinue ladies' programs or homemaker programs...I hope you will change your minds and come off that HIGH (sic) horse and bring back what is good of the past...

and

> For some time now I've wanted to write and tell you about your arrangement of programs. It stinks!...So you're going "modern?" I have lost some of my favorite programs...

and

> I hope you're getting a lot of response from your new programming. What do you have against the homemakers? ...I would rather listen to the homemaker programs than country music all day long!

and

> I am really disappointed in your changing the homemaker's programming...In this age when home and family are having such a terrific battle to survive, we need more of these programs, not less....
>
> (Letters to KMA general manager Susan Christensen, July and August, 1991).

Although these letters are representative of the mail received by the station, Christensen argues that the letters were sent by older listeners who are less likely to accept change. Christensen did receive a smattering of comments supporting her decision, for example,

> I think you're making an excellent decision. We don't all care about recipes one after another and continual call-ins concerning them....

Christensen partially met the demands of the older listeners by increasing the length of the homemaker program from 6 to 15

minutes. But it was clear that even in southwest Iowa, where this type of program flourished for over 60 years, the era of the traditional radio homemaker--the bearer of recipes, household hints and other domestic chatter--was, for all practical purposes, over.

Conclusion: Back to the Future

Given that family roles, societal values and broadcast programming concepts have all changed since the heyday of the radio homemaker, radio may, nonetheless, still have a role in helping manage the family of the 1990s. In the words of Evelyn Birkby (1992):

> ...[T]here are still homes out there, there are still children to be raised, there are still meals to get on the table. [Nowadays] you cook with the microwave, with quick cuts and with low fat foods. [This knowledge] is still just as desperately needed today as it was when I was on the farm and we were telling people how to make pie crust with lard.

Radio's capability to program to narrowly defined target audiences, coupled with its ability to provide programming that matches audience lifestyles, makes the medium a logical choice for catering to all types of family structures. The increasing popularity of talk on AM radio (Keith, 1987) perhaps opens the door to newly-structured family living programs with information designed for the special needs of modern society.

Joanie Ballion (1992) believes that while radio and its audiences may have outgrown the need for a daily barrage of cookie recipes, radio can still be a valuable service--and even a unifying factor--for today's family:

> Maybe it's time for the return of the radio homemaker...we have deemphasized the family for a couple of decades now and people are finally starting to realize that something went wrong...I think we are all hungry for the kind of values

represented by [the radio homemaker programs]....

Indeed, if the radio homemaker stood for nothing else, she represented a time in society when familial values were much stronger. While radio homemaking may not necessarily be a thing of the past, it is a program format that is forever altered. Gone are the days when loyal listeners chartered a bus to personally visit the home of a radio homemaker, or stopped for an unannounced visit to chat over a cup of coffee, which often happened to such early day homemakers as Leanna Driftmier (R. Birkby, 1991). Also gone are the days when listeners might be treated to a broadcast emanating from the announcer's home, accented with the sounds of cooking or children coming home from school. As the menu of information conforms to the dictates of modern programming objectives, a bit of the homespun charm of the old program formula is--sadly--forever lost.

Endnotes

1. Advertisers seeking to reach women audiences sometimes produced and syndicated their own homemaker programs. A show originated by "Kitchen Klatter," an Iowa-based manufacturer of household products, is perhaps the most famous of such endeavors. Kitchen Klatter paid for the program to be run on stations in several Midwestern markets (Birkby, 1992; Looker, 1992). But other sponsors took advantage of such arrangements, including the Martha Gooch company, a manufacturer of flour, noodles and pasta products (Oakley, 1992).

2. Frequent visitors to Oakley's household were two neighbor boys who would later become famous recording stars. Dick and Don Everly, now known as the "Everly Brothers," grew up near Shenandoah and began their careers as studio musicians for KMA.

3. Kansas State University's KKSU (originally known as KSAC), a public radio station operated by the K-State Division of Extension, was one of the pioneers of the radio homemaking concept. On February 2, 1925, the station inaugurated a program called "Housewives' Half Hour," consisting of "music, an inspirational talk, a main talk on some subject dealing with housewives' problems, [a] Question Box and [information on] planning daily meals." Information for the program was mainly provided by the school's Home Economics Department. Women were asked at the beginning of each program to "plan their mending, preparation of vegetables, or some similar job" allowing them to sit and listen to the program while they worked ("Housewives' Half Hour Program," 1926). The show was eventually discontinued, but KSAC/KKSU has continued to feature home and family living programs over the years and the KSU Division of Extension has provided such information to radio stations in Kansas and surrounding states for many years (Wright, 1992).

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(* indicates those available, and interviewed)

*Joannie Ballion, KJAM, Madison, South Dakota, management; KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, "Joni's Journal" and "Party Line"; 1969, KMTV, Omaha, Nebraska, "Conversations"; April 1982, cohost of "Good Day" at KMTV (E. Birkby, 1991; interview, 1992).

*Evelyn Birkby, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, with "Up a Country Lane" (later "Down a Country Lane"), on air briefly from May 15, 1950; joined Tidy House Co.'s "Kitchen-Klatter" as fill-in in 1957 and remained until 1983 (E. Birkby, 1991; interview, 1992).

Martha Bohlsen, WOW, Omaha, Nebraska (?), 1948; Tidy House Co. syndicated program "The Tidy House Kitchen Club Show"; program moved to WOW-TV in 1949 (E. Birkby, 1991).

Bernice Currier, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, on air November 1927 with "Home Hour"; also participated in the station's "Domestic Science" and "Visit" programs; also on WKRO in cairo, Illinois; and in 1948 returned to KMA with "A Visit with Bernice" (E. Birkby, 1991).

Mr. Merle Douglas, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, "The Man in the Kitchen", (E. Birkby, 1991)..

Theda May Drennan, KLRA, Monticello, Arkansas, on "The Women's Magazine of the Air" (Poindexter, 1974).

Leanna Driftmier, KFNF, Shenandoah, Iowa, on air first with "The Mother's Hour" (year unknown); name changed to "Kitchen-Klatter" (date unknown) and moved to KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, in 1939; 1948, program syndicated; 1972, KMA again carries "Kitchen-Klatter" (E. Birkby, 1991).

Florence Falk, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, August 1952, "The Farmer's Wife"; moved to KFNF in 1963; and broadcast for KOAK in Red Oak, Iowa, until her retirement (E. Birkby, 1991).

Helen Field Fischer, KFNF, Shenandoah, Iowa, on air 1926 with "The Mother's Hour" (E. Birkby, 1991).

Jo Freed, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, on air January 1969 with "Today's Woman" (E. Birkby, 1991).

Dorothy Gibson (known as Betty Lou Dean on the air), KPFW, Fort Smith, Arkansas, "Feminine Footnotes" 1934-35 (Poindexter, 1974).

Edith Hansen, WJAG, Norfolk, Nebraska, December 31, 1940; on KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, June 1, 1942, with "The Edith Hansen Kitchen Club" (E. Birkby, 1991).

Rita White Hennessey, KLRA, Monticello, Arkansas, with "The Women's Magazine of the Air" (Poindexter, 1974).

Mary Houston, KICD, Spencer, Iowa.

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[1] The Kitchen Klatter program was carried all over the MidWest, including at Worthington, MN, Norfolk, NB, Coffeville, KS, Salina, KS, and 18-20 stations in Iowa (Birkby interview, 1992).

*Sue Jones, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, August 31, 1987, "Family Living" (E. Birkby, 1991; interview, 1992).

Colleen Ketcham, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, September 1984, "Saturday with Colleen" (E. Birkby, 1991)

*Marilyn Lee, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, August 31, 1987, "Family Living" (E. Birkby, 1991; interview, 1992).

*Verlene Looker, KQIS, Shenandoah, Iowa, homemaker program starting in 1985; 1987, KMA, "KMA Today" and then in 1989, "Lifestyles" (E. Birkby, 1991; interview, 1992).

*Pearl Madsen, KICD, Spencer, Iowa, March 5, 1955 to August 20, 1982, "Pearl's Country Kitchen" (interview, 1992).

*Brenda Kay McConahay, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, January 1972 to 1978, "Living Today" and later also "Potpourri" and a Saturday show called "Feminine Focus"; moved to KQIS in Clarinda, Iowa, about

1982 and did a homemaker program there also until 1985 (E. Birkby, 1991; interview, 1992).

Doris Murphy, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, on air 1949 with "Party Line" (E. Birkby, 1991).

Warren Nielsen, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, with "Party Line" (E. Birkby, 1991).

*Billie Oakley, KFNF, Shenandoah, Iowa, "It's a Woman's World" 1949; show to KMA 1963-1966; later on KMA, "The Billie Oakley Show" and "Party Line" (E. Birkby, 1991; interview, 1992).

Larry Parker, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, on air in August 1953 with "The Man in the Kitchen" (E. Birkby, 1991).

Jane Robinson, Tidy House Co. radio syndicate, Shenandoah, Iowa, 1952 (E. Birkby, 1991).

Adella Shoemaker, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, August, 1948, with "Cookbook Time" and later "Kitchen Klinik"; 1952, syndicated program by Georgie Porgie cereal company (E. Birkby, 1991).

*Wynn Spease, WNAX, Yankton, South Dakota, "Your Neighbor Lady", 1939 to 1973 and again from 1983 to present; also did an interview program for KYNT in Yankton, SD, between 1973 and 1983 (interview, 1992).

*Iris Stanton, KALN, Iola, Kansas, "Time Out With Iris" (interview, 1992).

Juliana Verness, carried on "Kitchen-Klatter," her grandmother Leanna Driftmier's program (E. Birkby, 1991).

Lucile Driftmier Verness, on "Kitchen Klatter" with her mother, Leanna Driftmier (E. Birkby, 1991).

Dorothy Weiss, KGHI, Little Rock, Arkansas, on air in 1939 with "Things in the Women's World" (Poindexter, 1974).

Mary Williams, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, six months with "The Woman's Show" in 1963 (E. Birkby, 1991).

*Vernadell Yarrow, KCLY, Clay Center, Kansas, host of "Coffee Time", June 1, 1979 (interview, 1992).

*Betty Yates, KMMO, Marshall, Missouri, 1949; KSIS, February 1954, host of "Betty's Party Line" (interview, 1992).

Jessie Young, KMA, Shenandoah, Iowa, on air in 1926 with "The Stitch and Chat Club," later "A Visit with Jessie Young"; also on KFAB in Lincoln, Nebraska in mid-1940s (E. Birkby, 1991).

Additional Informants

Susan Christensen, general manager, KMA Radio, Shenandoah Iowa (interview, 1992).

DeAnn Wright, Family Living director, KKSU Radio (formerly KSAC), Kansas State University, Manhatten, KS.

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HER AMPLIFIED VOICE: GENDER, WAR PROPAGANDA AND CANADIAN MOTHERHOOD, 1939-1943.

A paper presented to the Commission on the Status of Women, at the annual meeting for the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Montreal, Quebec, August 5-8, 1992.

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HER AMPLIFIED VOICE: GENDER, WAR PROPAGANDA AND CANADIAN MOTHERHOOD, 1939-1943.

On a late winter day in 1940, Madge Macbeth, a popular Canadian writer and journalist, opened an anxiously-awaited letter from her son Douglas, an officer in the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals. He had sent it, as usual, to her home in Ottawa. Inside the envelope, along with his typically descriptive, somewhat discouraged account of military life in England during the "phoney war,"[1] was a clipping from a British magazine. It was a photo-essay of an English mother bidding her soldier son goodbye at the railway station. Unlike the petite, well-groomed and socially-prominent Madge Macbeth,[2] this mother, "Mrs. Ellis," was large, stolid and, judging from her clothing, a poor, working-class woman. Under the heading "My Boy's Going Back," the caption explained that Mrs. Ellis had "...come to see her boy go back to France. While he checked his train, she held his rifle proudly...if sadly...fingering it." The second photo shows her son kissing her goodbye:

> And when the final goodbye came, Mrs. Ellis still fingered the rifle ...until the last minute. Mothers, you know, are like that... it cheers them to feel that their sons will handle, daily, something that last touched mother's hands... mother's caress.

Wrote Douglas to his mother:

> The enclosed is one of the saddest pictures I think I've ever seen. I suggest that it commands as much attention from official artists as any cheering, shouting mob of young fellows going off to war.[3]

The clipping and the letter speak volumes about wartime propaganda. The representation of a sorrowful mother with her son's rifle is typical, some of today's feminist scholars will argue, of the way in which female, maternal imagery is used in wartime to encourage and justify militarism.[4] What Douglas reacted to so strongly may well have been planted by officials of Britain's Ministry of Information, set up during the war to ensure that the media, among others, would take full part in encouraging the public to fight for victory, despite the horrors of aerial bombardments, the burden of additional taxes and the privations of rationing.[5] Perhaps, from Douglas' point of view, the clipping was a romantic reflection of his wartime relationship with Madge -- the proud mother at home, worrying about her son, but believing in his fight -- and he, the brave soldier gone overseas to the front.

In reality, Madge Macbeth did much more than sit at home, although she certainly did worry. During the early years of the war, she was to take an active role in the official wartime propaganda effort in which many other Canadian authors and journalists also took part.[6] At the same time, while her behaviour and actions reflected certain cultural expectations of women's roles in wartime, these very expectations were at odds with the ways in which she herself wanted women to behave.

This paper represents work in progress, and so my conclusions are tentative. But, using the case of Madge Macbeth I can, with confidence, suggest ways in which we can develop a

deeper understanding of the ways in which individual media women conducted themselves during World War II. Primarily, we must accept the following: that the complex interrelationships among gender, race and class are important to our understanding of the media women themselves and the audiences they were addressing[7]; that we must go beyond dichotomous thinking in our approach to our subjects' behaviour and work, such as personal/professional, private/public, and maternalism/militarism; and that, before we apply our own analyses of issues of war and peace, we must try to understand our subjects in the context of their circumstances and time.

The rich material in Madge's private papers offers a unique perspective on the war as seen by mother and son, and on the relationship between them. Among the holdings in the National Archives of Canada is her personal, wartime diary with its short, terse, sometimes painful, scribbled notes to herself,[8] many of them in response to the letters she received from Douglas, who was, in deference to wartime censorship of military movements, "somewhere in England." Scores of the original letters from Douglas to her are in his daughter's possession at Stouffville, outside Toronto, among more boxes of Madge's memorabilia.[9] With some of the pitfalls as well as the benefits of oral history in mind,[10] I have also interviewed Douglas' daughter "Mike" (Madge Margaret) Macbeth, his widow, Anne, and Eric Gaskell, who was the National Secretary of the Canadian Authors' Association and Madge's close friend during the war years.[11]

The public record shows that Madge encouraged writers of both sexes to get involved in producing government propaganda, and also tried to influence women in particular to take part in various aspects of the war effort. She wanted them to raise money for military equipment, work for the war effort without demanding wages, recycle and salvage re-usable materials, guard themselves against subversives and "sentimental" thinking, and re-adjust themselves to domesticity after the war was over. To this end, she broadcast radio appeals and talks, toured women's clubs, wrote war-related short stories and magazine articles, fired off angry letters to the newspapers and edited some of her son's letters for publication. As a private citizen, she reported at least one fascist suspect, and, perhaps, disturbing war rumours to the authorities.

We can look at Madge Macbeth's experience on several levels, first of all, as a patriot and propagandist. Her actions were fuelled by concern for her son, who saw action at the front, coupled with a firm belief that it was the duty of writers and journalists to defend freedom of speech and of the press, which she feared would be lost if the fascists overran the western world. For her, to work against this eventuality was not cynical involvement in propaganda but one's duty as a citizen. Or, in her own words, "patriotism is the religion of honest men."[12]

But her wartime story is more than just a narrative about a patriotic woman. In the case of Madge Macbeth, gender relations, and aspects of what some scholars are calling the "social

construction of gender", certainly played a role. The historian Joan Scott and others see "gender" as a cultural concept that changes over time and in different circumstances to suit political and other needs, as opposed to biology which determines our sex, but not necessarily our behaviour.[13] In her quest for a workable theory of peace politics, another feminist scholar, Sara Ruddick, debunks concepts that equate maleness with aggression and maternity with pacifism, for war can be as distinctly "feminine" as it is masculine." She points out that, in wartime, mothers have often demonstrated the ability to be aggressively militaristic, an attitude that often stems from their sense of maternal duty.

> In a time of crisis, would they foster dissention within a family or community whose connectedness it has been their responsibility to sustain? Having applauded their children's efforts from the first somersault to their latest high school test, would they undermine their resolve when legal force combines with community excitement to draft them for war? If her son is killed while killing, should his mother deny herself the consolation of giving his 'sacrifice' a point? For her own sake, for her children and her family's sake, isn't it a mother's duty to accept, hopefully, justifications for violence?

On another level, Ruddick writes, a mother's involvement in militarism may also spring from her desire to move outside of the mundane and the domestic to embrace real or imagined heroism for herself.[14] In World War II, Canada government propaganda and civilian advertising were both aimed at encouraging peacetime mothers to become homefront warriors.[15]

While much of Madge's Macbeth's war work was carried out within the boundaries of what was acceptable for women at any time, I believe her relationship with her son, as revealed in his letters and her diary, strengthened her resolve that women should be especially tough during a war. In other words, the social construction of the female gender could and should shift to meet the fascist challenge. At the same time, her own views and actions also shifted, to the point where she appeared not to be involved in the war effort at all after 1943.

Gender is not the only consideration in this study. Class and ethnicity were also explicitly and implicitly a factor in Madge's efforts and those of others who produced official propaganda.[16] The leaders of English Canada's war effort were usually prominent, Anglo-Saxon men and women, who felt it was their patriotic duty to educate "ordinary" Canadians. This elitist attitude harkened back at least to World War I, and the upheaval in Canadian political and cultural identity which followed it.[17] Among the intellectuals who assigned themselves the job of informing and rallying the public were authors and journalists, whose links with the political and economic leaders of the country were well forged.[18] When World War II broke out, they urged other writers to turn their typewriters "into machines of attack in a great cause."[19] The self-appointed propagandists believed that the general public, left on its own, might not grasp the vital importance of an all-out military and civilian assault against Hitler.

According to her autobiography, Madge Macbeth was well placed in this intellectual and social milieu. She was born in 1883 to a prominent family in Maryland, where one of her grandfathers was State Comptroller. One of her grandmothers, a friend of Susan B. Anthony, had been an outspoken abolitionist, suffragist and journalist in Philadelphia. Madge spent her younger years in Philadelphia and small towns in North Carolina and Maryland. Her breezy, humorous version of her childhood is peppered with references to family servants, white and Black, and to her training in the social graces.[20]

At about the age of 13, Madge crossed the border to attend a private girl's college in London, Ontario. The patrons of the school -- her account revealed her propensity for name-dropping -- were the local Bishop of Huron, Lady Aberdeen (the wife of Canada's Governor-General) and her Royal Highness, the Princess Louise. Apparently, the sight of the Union Jack -- then the Canadian flag -- flapping in the breeze -- inspired a nascent patriotism in young Madge.[21] After a brief career in the theatre, Madge moved to Ottawa as a new wife, lost her husband to tuberculosis, and went to work. She had to learn to cook -- she writes of baking cakes for her well-off friends to support herself and her two boys -- and then she took up freelance writing.[22] This version of Madge's early working life amuses her granddaughter, Mike Macbeth, who insists that it was not Madge but the maid who made the cakes. Mike often witnessed Madge exaggerating events while story telling or story writing, usually

by taking a small incident and building on it through several versions.[23] So her autobiography must be taken with a grain of salt.

Over the years, Madge became well established in Canadian literary life and Ottawa society. She was a popular writer of travel sketches, journalism articles, and short stories,[24] and she also became known as a public speaker. She broadcast many radio talks for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation[25] and was often a guest speaker at gatherings of the Canadian Clubs, or the Canadian Women's Press Club. Her usual topics concerned the political and social life of Ottawa, her commitment to Canadian literature and her travels and work.[26] She also wrote several novels, some of which featured "new woman" heroines, who almost, but not quite, rebelled against the stricter social convention. Another novel poked fun at Ottawa's political and social life.[27] She was active in the Ottawa Little Theatre and the Canadian Authors Association, and a member of the Canadian Women's Press Club.[28]

Ever conscious of class status, Madge hosted and attended many social gatherings, as much for the professional contacts they gave her as for the social connections they maintained. Among her friends were the bachelor prime minister, W.L. Mackenzie King, at whose parties she occasionally acted as hostess,[29] a Canadian Army General, E.L.M. Burns, with whom she wrote two books,[30] and various senior civil servants, politicians, writers and artists.[31]

By the time World War II broke out, both her sons had grown up. Charles had moved to the States, but Douglas stayed closer to home, a factor in the intensity of his relationship with Madge,[32] whom he often addressed in his wartime letters as "Madam Queen."[33] She was a possessive mother[34], occasionally insecure and not always sure of his love,[35] who took an immense pride in his accomplishments. She could be charming, domineering, and somewhat manipulative, especially with family members. Privately quite sensitive, she tended to hide her deepest feelings in public.[36]

Douglas was a tough military man, who had been among the first reserve officers to go overseas once Canada declared war on Germany. A proud descendant of American Civil War heroes on his mother's side,[37] and veterans of the Fenian raids, the Riel rebellion and the Boer War on his father's side,[38] he had no patience for fascist sympathizers,[39] conscientious objectors, pacifists or strikers.[40] His letters show that he was also a racist castigator of the Japanese[41], Italians,[42] and Jews.[43] He had his mother's domineering temperament, her ability to charm and manipulate others, and her literary talent.[44] He also had a softer side, best expressed in writing, when his tenderness for his mother became apparent. The war brought them closer than they had ever been before.[45]

His decision to volunteer for active duty as soon as the war broke out had a shattering effect on his mother. She worried about him constantly, especially during the early part of the

war, when the Germans appeared to be winning. When Douglas first went overseas, she wrote in her diary:

> 92d day of war. Queer how life works itself up into almost unbearable grief. Douglas came today to say goodbye. I don't know why I should write more here. Can't think of anyone who might be interested after this horror is over. I hoped he might like to look back some day on the place I had tried to fill, in this city, in my work, in Canada. Now...things look pretty grim and dark. I caught myself thinking, 'If Mother were only here to help me!' She would be sadder than I. Eyes front! Chin up![46]

By the spring of 1940, Germany had invaded Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland. In May, the Signals prepared to go to France, perhaps to assist in the evacuation at Dunkirk.[47] Douglas tried to reassure Madge that he would not die in this war:

> Don't worry about me, Mum. It's war and all that but I WILL COME BACK. Just never forget that will you. And <u>if</u> I don't, I'll just join the other Macbeth soldiers in their officers' mess and I'll see you later. My dearest love...you will help things for me please by not worrying.

In his letter he enclosed a clipping from the <u>Sunday Pictorial</u>. Under the heading, "I Will Come Back", and an inspirational text, there was space for the reader to place the photo of loved one.[48] As it turned out, Douglas did not go to France, but headed out, with the Signals, for another part of England.[49]

The fall of France in the spring of 1940 left its citizens' loyalties divided between the collaborationist government at

Vichy and the liberationist Free French. In Canada, this event added to the anxiety about what spies and subversives might do in a free country, especially one which includes a predominantly francophone province and French-speaking minorities in other provinces. Although the official war effort was carried out in Quebec much as it was in Canada, several influential male politicians and intellectuals opposed it[50], a factor which delayed the federal government's commitment to conscription.

Anti-Nazi sentiment in Canada was aimed at fascists, enemy aliens and "ethnic" Canadians, mostly of German and Italian descent. Communists, especially among labour-organizers, were also targeted. The Defence of Canada regulations on internment, more oppressive than those of either Britain or the United States, resulted in the rounding up of over 1200 suspects by the end of 1940, and the closing down of their meeting halls and publications.[51] The regulations also had the effect of making the mainstream media extremely cautious, and of discouraging open pacifism.[52]

Early in the war, the Canadian Authors' Association began preparing to lend a hand in producing official government propaganda. In October 1939, the Montreal branch offered its services for any organization that might be formed similar to the British Ministry of Information, and also promised to organize travelling libraries for the soldiers.[53] There were also informal discussions about the war effort among the CAA members attending the 1939 national convention in Halifax.[54] In August,

1940, the CAA's annual meeting, at Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue, outside Montreal, took the form of a wartime strategy conference.

As the newly-elected president of the CAA, it was Madge's job to rally its members to the cause. For her, there was simply no argument: duty to one's country came first in a war which she saw as a clear-cut struggle between democracy and fascism. She told the convention that Canadian writers were in a unique position to aid in the war effort, especially as compared with those in Nazi Germany and the occupied countries, who, she declared, were forced into silence or into writing propaganda. Despite the reality of wartime censorship regulations, Canadian writers were free in comparison, and it was this very freedom of speech and the press that they should defend by involving themselves in the war effort. To her, this was a spiritual duty. Implicit in her somewhat overblown and rambling address, which I quote at length here, is a sense of fear at a time, early in the war, when Britain and the Allied forces appeared helpless in the face of Nazi expansionism.

> I am exercising a right that is rare in the world just now -- the right of free speech. We are all exercising a right that is rare, in being allowed to hold this convention. No police guards the door. So far as I know, no spies or dictaphones carry tales to a suspicious hierarchy. We are free to do and say what we please, so long as we do not contravene the Defence of Canada regulations...
> What I should like to remind you of is that we on this continent are almost the only authors left who can follow our calling...
> We have a spiritual sector to defend,

> and I know that, determined and united, we can be an important factor in winning this war...
> We have a clear and definite duty to the heroic youth who are giving their all that we may be spared. And as I see it, our duty is to keep telling them -- and those who stay at home -- what they are fighting for...
> And this vision that we might call Canada, we can keep before them, before themselves. We must begin now, for we are in danger greater than we have ever known, and without vision, the people perish.[33]

Most of Madge's colleagues on the senior CAA executive, which was largely male, were of a similar mind. The atmosphere of the conference can be further discerned in a speech by one of them, Watson Kirkconnell, who was a professor of English. Kirkconnell, described in the CAA newsletter as "an outstanding authority on race problems in Canada," stressed the need for national unity at a time, he claimed, when dissident fascist and Communist groups were operating among immigrants to Canada such as the Italians, Germans, Ukranians, Poles, Russians and Finns. He assured his audience that most immigrants were loyal Canadians, and that, at any rate, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who were encouraging the public to report suspicious characters, had the ring-leaders well-spotted. Nonetheless, the same evil forces were also trying to stir up anti-Semitism in Canada as a whole and might also be busy sowing dissent between English and French Canadians. In the meantime, the American media, to which many Canadians had access, were not as supportive

of Britain, or as critical of Germany, as he felt Canadians should be.[56]

Kirkconnell declared that neither lies nor "simple truth" could adequately deal with these dangers. Canadian writers, he said, must "set forth truth and justice in so worthy a guise that they may indeed prevail." In other words, they must write in the strongest terms possible to convince Canadians of the democratic values of (Christian) "faith, truth and law" in contrast to what he saw as the Godlessness, lawlessness and barbarism of Nazi Germany and fascism.[57]

Another CAA executive member, Wilfrid Eggleston, was also Canada's Press Censor.[58] Aware that there had been resistance among a few editors and journalists to some of the Defence of Canada regulations[59] -- even among CAA ranks[60] -- he tried to impress upon his audience the necessity of steering a middle course between total censorship and editorial caution during wartime.[61] Other CAA colleagues, such as William Deacon, the literary editor of the Toronto Globe and Mail, understood the dangers of censorship, but also saw it as necessary, as he made clear later in a private letter to Madge:

> I think speakers and writers who are in error -- that is, who do not think as I do -- are, in most cases, honestly mistaken and not conscious traitors. Yet, when things are so urgent and critical, it is often hard to be patient with them. To act decisively without crushing minority opinion a la Nazi is a problem...It would not be necessary if we could afford time for these others to see the light. Unfortunately, it is too dangerous to wait.[62]

Madge's diary, newspaper accounts of her public speeches, and Douglas' letters supply evidence of their mutual intolerance for "fifth columnists" -- aliens, conscientious objectors, pacifists and striking labourers who, to their minds, presented a real danger to the war effort. On July 2, 1940, Douglas had written to Madge: "You say that subversive elements are being rounded up...It's about time, but we will undoubtedly be too meek and mild about it -- afraid to hurt the enemies' feelings..." He went on to name a Montreal man, a European alien he suspected of being a fascist. In that letter and a subsequent one, he noted her action in reporting the man to the RCMP.[63]

Madge was not alone among Canada's writers and journalists in her commitment to her country. In fact, judging from the records of the federal government's Wartime Information Board and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, mainstream media cooperation in the official war effort was almost always wholehearted. Members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, the Canadian Press news agency, newspaper and magazine editors, managers at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the head of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, were among those who felt it was their duty to support the war. Several quit their jobs to work for the government.[64] Many of the women authors and journalists, like the men, insisted on taking their part, either through their writings and broadcasts, or by various other means. For example, although most of the senior executive of the CAA was

male, almost half the speakers at its 1941 wartime conference in Vancouver, were women writers.[65]

In their professional work, the members of the Canadian Women's Press Club, to which Madge also belonged, were normally expected to influence women, not men. Although individuals sometimes chafed at the sex-role constraints on their profession, they worked mostly on women's pages, women's magazines and women's radio programs, or as freelances, which allowed them to accommodate their own domestic schedules.[66] Much of their journalism emphasized the importance of supportive roles for women in wartime[67] and, although there were exceptions,[68] they took on those roles themselves. Byrne Hope Sanders, the editor of the Canadian women's magazine, Chatelaine, left her job temporarily to head the Consumer Branch of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Her job was to convince women of the wisdom of careful shopping and wartime price controls. The Press Club's newsletter, the Newspacket, testifies to the wartime efforts of its rank and file members -- not just as journalists and government publicity agents -- but as war bond boosters, national registration volunteers, knitters and sewers, soldiers' ditty bag stuffers, senders of cigarettes to male colleagues in uniform, and even as servicewomen who left journalism to join up for the duration.[69]

The journalists were no different than other Canadian women of their class. When the war first broke out, it was clubwomen who organized the vast, volunteer network that the federal

government appropriated through its Women's Volunteer Services Bureau. Soon, almost all of Canada's three million women were engaged in volunteer activities. This number includes Quebec's married women, who were urged by isolationists not to work in war factories, but abide by the province's Catholic and nationalist tradition and stay in the home. Volunteer work among homemakers, especially in relation to rationing, salvaging, and charitable work of all kinds, was encouraged, however, especially by the Church.[70]

In some ways, Madge worked within the same gender system that most women writers and journalists did, in that much of her effort, like theirs, was meant to influence Canadian women to support the war. But in other ways, she saw female stereotypes as too limiting and tried to convince her female audiences to get beyond them. Madge considered the nurturing that women so often did in wartime -- knitting sweaters and sending comfort parcels -- highly inadequate in this conflict. She took it upon herself to impress upon all Canadians, particularly women, the necessity of an aggressive defence against the enemy, especially the need to provide more military equipment for the soldiers. To defend themselves against the Nazis, the British and their allies needed war planes, not woolens. As France fell to Hitler, she wrote in her diary:

> War news is so awful, can't think about it. We all do our bit of knitting, serving in tea rooms and such -- making a great effort! God - I can't contain myself. The British are asking mechanical equipment. We send sweaters! Norway fell, Holland and Belgium

is largely in German hands. Some parts of France....We still send sweaters![71]

She was attending a party with some military friends when it was suggested to her that she might want to spearhead a drive among Canadian women to raise money for a Spitfire, a fighter plane used by the British, "to replace the equipment our boys lost in France."[72] She apparently mentioned her idea to Douglas, who assured her in a letter that the soldiers did not need ~~wallcons~~ woolens at the moment,[73] and informed her of the procedures the British government had worked out for raising money for the fighter planes, which cost about ten thousand pounds sterling each.[74]

With the backing of the Local Council of Women, Madge started her campaign, making public speeches and radio broadcasts. She wanted to get two thousand women to donate five dollars each.[75] But, according to her diary, she felt that the public expected the Canadian government to supply military equipment to the Allies. "So many people are opposing our campaign. Can't see need to save soldiers."[76] In fact, it failed to raise even half the money needed[77] -- perhaps because Canadian women were already investing in victory bonds for Canadian military equipment, and the bonds yielded an interest rate of three percent, which was considered generous at the time.[78] It appears that her difficulties were not due to female squeamishness but competing agendas.

Nevertheless, Madge was very frustrated by the resistance she met to her campaign and continued to blame women themselves.

According to a Canadian Press news agency story out of Montreal, she told one women's club, "'the Florence Nightingale type of thinking is hampering us.'" The reporter continued: "Personally she failed to understand why women concerned themselves more with healing than with the prevention of the necessity."[79]

In the fall of 1940, Madge went on a tour of western Canada, urging women to get tougher with the enemy. A speech she gave to the Women's Canadian Club in Edmonton, was typical. This was a "woman's war," she declared. Women behind enemy lines were being treated just as brutally as the men were. In the face of the expanding fascist threat, Canadian women must look for inspiration to British women, who were being bombed every day.[80] They must arm both themselves and the soldiers sent overseas. She is quoted as saying:

> Some women are horrified at the thought of buying guns, but certainly they must buy guns and learn to shoot them, too. Why buy ambulances and hospitals for men after they are wounded when you might provide them with defensive equipment or do some work that would reduce casualties to a minimum?

Furthermore, women should not be trying to send food and clothing to the beleaguer citizens of the Nazi-occupied territories, but should "close their eyes to the gentler tasks and to appeals for pity" and help maintain the Allied blockade against these countries. In reply to a question as to why she was on tour, she responded, in the reporter's words, "almost incredulously": "Because I have a son at the front and because every woman in this dominion is having to fight this war!"[81]

An important, and somewhat insidious part of her message was that not only must Canadian women work hard to defeat the enemy abroad, but they must be aware that subversive elements might be at work in Canada, and they must guard themselves against their influence. Her speech in Edmonton, which was entitled, "Where is Your Fifth Column," emphasized that any woman who recoiled from the necessary tasks in wartime -- such as honouring the Allied blockade in Europe -- was helping the enemy. She was quoted as saying:

> In a letter from a person in authority in the ministry controlling British food supplies, it was stated that British pacifists and humanitarians don't know how definitely they are playing into Nazi hands. Theirs is the attitude that Hitler publicly scorned when he spoke of "pity ethics." Theirs are the minds he plays and preys on when he begs for food that he knows will break down the blockade.[82]

Madge continued her efforts to get women in particular involved in everything from making armaments to recycling household goods. In her zeal, she went on record in an open letter to the federal labour minister promising that if he would set up a munitions plant near Ottawa, she would round up fifty women who would work there at whatever job was assigned to them. Until and unless he saw fit to pay them, they would happily work without wages:

> The great majority, however, are not seeking wages. They are eager, impatient, to help speed equipment production without putting the country to extra expenses. The Hon. the Prime Minister spoke of conscripting man-power. Here, you have it ready to be con-scripted.

Madge's belief that women would willingly work without wages in wartime would suggest that despite her own experiences as a self-supporting widow with two children, she had rather strange ideas about how women survive economically. But it is clear that she was actually addressing herself mainly to middle class housewives and club women. The Depression, which had barely ended, had given rise to the cultural perception that married women with jobs were symbols in themselves of economic hardship. An acceptable rationale for their employment, a sense of national emergency, might have justified wages, but, from Madge's point of view, volunteer work was a necessary sacrifice in wartime for those who could afford to do it.[83]

Over the course of the war, there was an increase in women in the Canadian workforce, but, even so, most of them continued to work without wages at home.[84] It was not until 1942 that women, starting with young and single ones, were recruited for civilian wartime jobs through the National Selective Service and even then, many had economic as much as patriotic motives.[85] Regardless, Madge continued to advocate that women, children, and even men who had not joined up, do volunteer rather than paid war work, and contribute financially to the war effort as well. She also advised women to back government salvage schemes by saving or recycling everything from sugar to towels.[86]

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour in December, 1941, Madge scribbled in her diary: "War comes hourly closer to us. I am thinking about a shelter in the basement."[87] Convinced that

voluntarism was not working, she had been demanding publicly that the women of Canada pressure the federal government into implementing total conscription, and national service for both men and women. In this, she echoed her son, Douglas, who had wanted conscription all along, and who had attributed its delay to "rotten politics" and "pacifism."[88] By 1942, the Canadian government had finally decided to hold a public referendum on the issue, but not bind itself to the result. In a letter to the editor of the Ottawa Citizen, Madge criticized this decision as confusing for the ordinary citizen and unfair to the volunteers who had enlisted in the armed forces or were doing war work at home. The government, not the public, should decide the issue:

> No people, no matter how peace-loving and loyal, has the right to permit its government to jeopardize the fate of the nation or betray the heroic men and women who are trying to hold a thin front line against an enemy 100 percent conscripted and organized for total war.[89]

She also called for the abolition of strikes. According to a newspaper report, she told the Westmount Women's Club in Montreal: "Every time there is a strike in Canada, a light goes out in Europe and Hitler wins another battle. Strikers should be regarded as fifth columnists." The article further quoted her as saying that she "championed" collective bargaining, arbitration and the right of labour to present its demands, but she did not support work stoppages.[90] She believed that it was up to Canadian workers and others to back the efforts of the soldiers at the front. Douglas shared her convictions. Early in 1943,

during a steelworkers' strike, she indignantly wrote to a newspaper editor, quoting a paragraph "in a letter from an officer written home immediately after his return from Dieppe" the previous summer:

> We docked about two in the morning -- not quite a union day (longer than a union day) -- nor did we get any overtime. War workers please note! If I ever left the army and ran a factory making war materials and someone asked for overtime, I'd sit on his chest and tell him the story of Dieppe before taking up the baseball bat.

The "officer" was, of course, her son, whose long letter to Madge about Dieppe had earlier appeared as an edited three column feature in the Ottawa Evening Citizen.[91]

By this time, Douglas was a media personality in his own right. Madge edited some of his earlier letters and incorporated them in an article for the Canadian literary journal, the Dalhousie Review, which appeared in the summer of 1941.[92] His letters to her betrayed a self-consciousness about some of his writing, and he appeared to be aware that a few would be published.[93] He was very pleased with the results:

> The Dalhousie Review arrived yesterday. You are absolutely wonderful to have rehashed all those hurriedly written notes that kept coming over, and its not "my letters" but rather "your article."[94]

In his next letter, he added: "We should become a ghost writing team!"[95]

At the same time, Douglas' voice was becoming familiar to some listeners of the CBC, which had an Overseas Reporting

Unit.[96] Douglas was featured in several programs on Canada's military effort.[97] Aside from news and talks about the war, the CBC and private radio stations occasionally recorded "message" programs during which family members, including tearful wives and mothers, sent greetings to the soldiers overseas.[98]

Radio was an also important medium for Madge's war work. She recorded several war talks, on an ad hoc basis, in Montreal, and on the national CBC network from Ottawa. No scripts survive probably because, according to Eric Gaskell, she often spoke from notes or ad-libbed.[99] But she did send Douglas and the troops at least one scripted radio message, which she kept. It was truer to her public, rhetorical style than her deeper, personal feelings:

> I wish I were like the man who said little but left little to be said. It is difficult for me to tell you in these few words how proud I am of you and the work of your splendid men...We miss our boys more instead of less as the days wear on and pray that all of you may return to us safe and unharmed. We will do our best to build and maintain a great country here for you.[100]

The main action Douglas saw during that time was the raid on Dieppe, in August 1942, in which 2,700 out of 4,000 Canadians were killed, wounded or taken prisoner.[101] According to a Canadian Press story from London, he was in charge of a complex wireless set-up linking ships, aircraft, ground troops and Command Headquarters.[102] At the time, the media did not carry the full story of the catastrophe, one which military historians are arguing over to this day.[103] It appears that even Douglas

was not sure at first how many men had been lost, and an edited version of one of his letters in the Ottawa Citizen, described the battle itself but did not dwell on the casualties.[104] It can safely be assumed that a broadcast he made took the same line.[105] The official propaganda stressed the valour of the men and the valuable lessons learned at Dieppe, not the carelessness or ambition of the British and Canadian Generals in charge of the operation.[106] But there were undoubtedly moments of personal heroism. For his part in the raid, Douglas was decorated with the Croix de Guerre.[107]

It was shortly after Dieppe that Madge appeared to stop working for the official war effort, at least as a public speaker. She was instrumental in helping Eric Gaskell and others set up the CAA's Writers' War Committee, but, according to Gaskell, she took little or no part in its operations.[108] The Committee was dedicated to getting writers to produce stories, articles and radio scripts with storylines reflecting the concerns of the Wartime Information Board. Although I have not been able to make a direct connection between the WIB and Madge, she did produce a few articles and stories on wartime themes, some of them for elite magazines, such as Mayfair.[109] Later on, she wrote others concerning the domestic roles of women in post-war reconstruction.[110]

The other job to which the Writers' War Committee devoted itself was the reporting of war rumours considered dangerous to public morale to Davidson Dunton, then head of the Board's

Reports Branch. According to Gaskell, it was a common way to gather intelligence during the war and many people were involved in reporting rumours -- which were not supposed to be traced back to the informant -- in order that the propaganda machine might squelch them. Evidence in the committee's papers shows that the Chief Censor, Wilf Eggleston, who was also the president of the CAA's Ottawa branch, recommended Madge to Dunton as a reliable reporter of such rumours. Beside her name is a "yes" and Gaskell believes it is likely she agreed to act in this capacity, but no copy of any report by her is evident.[111]

Events that occurred in 1942 may have represented a watershed for her. By the end of that year, both her diary entries and Douglas' letters became far less frequent.[112] At the CAA, there had been vicious infighting among executive members of the Ottawa and Toronto chapters over the location of the national office and other concerns, and she was likely was quite happy to hand over the presidency after her third term in 1942.[113] Once she stepped down, she was no longer the official spokeswoman for the CAA. It is clear that she was unhappy about the government's agreement to hold a public referendum on conscription and may have become frustrated with the official political line on the war effort, especially after Canadians voted "yes" in the spring of 1942, but Prime Minister King continued to stall on the issue.[114] The Canadian government's delay in allowing a limited number of women's representatives a say in the country's reconstruction plans may also have annoyed her.[115] This is

speculation on my part, but given her personal history, not to speak of her war effort, it is not unlikely.

Eric Gaskell suggests that, personally, she was worn down with worry about her son's military circumstances, especially after it became clear what a mistake the raid on Dieppe had been. She apparently did not want him posted to North Africa.[116] Her diary indicates that other personal reasons may have been factors, as well. She was concerned about Douglas' private life -- already separated, he started difficult divorce proceedings after meeting the Englishwoman who was to become his second wife.[117] Madge also worried about herself. At nearly 60 years of age, she was fighting war nerves and complaining of very painful lumbago.[118]

During the time she had been most actively involved in the war effort, she was also writing short stories and articles that had nothing to do with the war,[119] had started on her autobiographical Boulevard Career,[120] and was trying, with some difficulty, to sell her latest novel.[121] By 1943, she simply may have felt too jaded with official wartime policy and too busy with her various personal concerns to continue making speeches, broadcasting talks and travelling all over the country. But she kept up her diary, sporadically, until the end of the war in Europe and the final entry:

> "Victory! It's hard to believe. So many false rumours...Yesterday, we knew that it had really come. Emotions rather draining and no one to celebrate with altho' several people phoned. I went to church. There this a.m...I still can't believe the wonder of it.

> Did not go down town but could hear the noise. Strange that the last page of this book should record Victory.[122]

After Dieppe, Douglas had been posted to several hot spots, including Italy and North Africa. Returning to Canada after the war, he became an executive assistant to the Minister of Veteran's Affairs and fulfilled his wartime dream of settling down with his family in the country-side near Ottawa. In 1950, at the age of forty-seven, he died suddenly of a heart attack.[123]

As is clear from Douglas' letters and Madge's diary, his wartime battles had a great impact on her, and helped motivate her to get involved in the war effort. But, this was not a one-way relationship. Douglas' letters to her are full of affection and concern and Eric Gaskell, who had visited Douglas in England during the war, assured Madge in a letter of condolence that she had never been far from her son's mind:

> One of the wonderful things about Douglas was his love of home and of his family, and a great respect for his Mother, who was also his inspiration through so many difficult days. I know, too, how very much he meant to you, and how you yearned for him during the dark years of the war when no one knew what the ultimate end might be. In his Mess at Horsham, on the lovely old Sussex downs, we talked very late one night about these things, and later, after he had driven me into Brighton, we continued the conversation into the strange loveliness of a morning made hideous by the alien sound of the coastal ack-ack guns. I've told you before what he said to me then -- all his dreams of home and a serene peace with those he loved best after the war --- and at the time I also tried to tell you the things he wanted to say but found no words to express.... Douglas had a very deep love for you, his

> Mother, and I know that he was sustained by it through many vicissitudes. You have reason to be proud of him, Madge, as he was of you![124]

An American historian, Susan Henry, has emphasized the importance of using feminist theory in our understandings of the history of journalism and the media.[125] In Canada, there are still great gaps between theories of women's history and media history, particularly for the World War II period. Most full-length, general media studies are surveys and, while they may include chapters on the wartime period, none, as yet, focus on the war itself.[126] There are, however, a few articles and Ph.D. theses in various disciples which are helpful.[127]

Canadian feminist scholarship on women, media and war is interdisciplinary and focuses on two main areas: the roles and/or media images of women in wartime[128] -- which does not always take the propaganda agenda into account[129] -- and women's responses to issues of peace and war, which does not deal with World War II and often favours a pacifist perspective.[130]

In the United States and Britain there has been an appreciable amount of scholarship done on the role of women during World War II, with the theoretical and political debates centring mainly on how much the war really contributed to their improved status in the labour force.[131] In Canada, there is only one book-length study which discusses the limited and stereotyped role of women in the war effort, but much of that research focuses on the Canadian Women's Army Corps.[132] An

understanding of Madge Macbeth's experience as a war-time propagandist indicates that further scholarship and a more complex, theoretical perspective are in order. Ideally, this perspective would stress the complex connections among gender, class and ethnicity; critically examine superficial oppositions such as such as personal/professional, private/public, and maternalism/militarism; and take into account the real impact of the events to which our subjects responded. Madge Macbeth's privileged upbringing as a young "lady" allowed her to take her sexually-stereotyped place among Canada's patriotic, Anglo-Saxon elite during a time of national emergency. Her idea of leadership included a self-imposed duty to point out to other women that for the good of the war effort they must perceive of themselves as more warlike than she thought they ordinarily would. This was their maternal duty, one which Madge accepted for herself without differentiating what she felt when she read her son's letters in the privacy of her home from what she said in public. Although her propagandist's voice, with its patriotic rhetoric, was lifted in a public performance, it was her private voice amplified -- a culturally and professionally acceptable way for an elite woman to communicate her fears for her son, her professional concerns as an author, journalist and broadcaster, and her political convictions as a "democrat" and a Canadian.

Her beliefs and actions were not just a response to the letters from Douglas, as important as they were, but were essential components of a personal wartime drama to which her

temperament, skills and training were well suited, and in which she played a leading -- perhaps even a self-perceived heroic -- role. From her point of view, she had a lot to lose: her freedom, her country and, above all, a beloved son who was fighting a war which might have parted them forever. It must not be forgotten that the danger of fascism was very real at the time, even if it appears to us in retrospect that the propagandists' fears were exaggerated.

It is difficult to say who was paying attention to her and why, but I think it is safe to assume it was a female, middle-class to elite audience most of the time. The women who listened to her speeches at their women's clubs or read them in the CAA publications were people like herself, well-educated, mostly English Canadian, many of them literary.[133] The same is probably true of the women who read her edited versions of her son's letters in the prestigious Dalhousie Review, her accounts of the female diplomatic set in the elite Mayfair magazine, or her exhortations to the "upwardly mobile" readers of Saturday Night. It is much harder to know who read the accounts of her speeches in the daily newspapers, read her short stories or listened to her on the radio, much less how they reacted. It is interesting that I did not come across any articles of hers for this period in Chatelaine, which appealed to a broader base of middle-class women, and, perhaps, working class women who had no Canadian magazine of their own. It is a significant omission, considering that her stated purpose was to reach ordinary Canadians. It must

also be taken into account, however, that the tight wartime market that writers faced, and the preferences of individual editors, may also have affected where her articles appeared.[134]

In conclusion, I would like to re-emphasize the importance of feminist analyses of media women, especially those which critically examine the complexities of each woman's life and work during major upheavals such as war. I am not arguing that propagandists such as Madge Macbeth should be uncritically upheld as the champions of their cause. But neither should they be automatically denigrated for their commitment -- much less for their political or social positions, although it is essential to point these factors out. It is much more important to try to understand them on their own terms, in their own times, even as we recognize their shortcomings and mourn the tragedy of war itself.[135] Approached in this way, feminist biography can contribute a great deal to our knowledge of how and why the media -- and individual women -- react to war in the many ways they do.

1. The "phoney war" refers to the first six months of the war, when there was little action against the Germans in Scandinavia, western Europe or Britain. The Canadian troops sent to England, impatient for battle, were sitting in barracks for two-and-a-half years, awaiting word from a recalcitrant Canadian government as to what their real role would be. Brian Loring Villa, Unauthorized Action: Mountbatten and the Dieppe Raid. Toronto: Oxford University Press 1989, p. 213. For a study of the Canadian government's wartime policies, see J.L. Granatstein, Canada's War -- The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government 1939-1945, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1975.

2. Recorded interviews with Mike Macbeth and her mother, Ann Macbeth, Douglas Macbeth's widow, conducted by Barbara M. Freeman by telephone March 23, 1991. In addition, I had several informal talks with Mike Macbeth at her home in Stouffville, near Toronto January 28-30, 1991.

3. Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, Feb. 12, 1940. The clipping he sent is unmarked and undated. Both are in the Madge Macbeth papers at Stouffville, hereafter referred to as the Macbeth Stouffville Collection (MSC). "Mrs. Ellis'" son was probably with the British Expeditionary Force which was helping to defend France against German invasion. The BEF was evacuated in May and June 1940 during the battle of Dunkirk.

4. For example, Nancy Huston argues that men go to war in order to produce male heroic narratives in which women, including mothers, play important supporting roles. See Nancy Huston, "Tales of War and Tears of Women," in Women's Studies International Forum. Vol. 5, Nos. 3-4, 1982, pp. 271-282. The violent, sexual imagery of the rifle is discussed by Susan Gubar, "'This is My Rifle, This is my Gun': World War II and the Blitz on Women," in Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al (eds.), Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1987. Other anthologies include Sharon Macdonald, Pat Holden and Shirley Ardener, (eds.), Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-cultural and Historical Perspectives (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1987); Ruth Roach Pierson, (ed.) Women and Peace, London: Croom Helm 1987.

5. See Ian McLaine, Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II, London: Allen and Unwin 1979; Michael Balfour, Propaganda In War 1939-1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1979; Arthur Marwick, "Print, Pictures and Sound: The Second World War and the British Experience," in Daedalus III (Fall 1982), pp. 135-155. A progressive view of British society in wartime can be found in H. Smith, (ed.), War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War, Manchester: Manchester University Press 1986.

On civil liberties in wartime, see Neil Stammers, Civil Liberties in Britain during the 2nd World War: A Political Study. Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1983.

6. The best authority on English Canada is W.R. Young, "Building Citizenship: English Canada and Propaganda during the Second War," in Journal of Canadian Studies. Vol. 16, Nos. 3 & 4 (Fall-Winter 1981), pp. 121-132; "Academics and Social Scientists vs. the Press: The Policies of the Bureau of Public Information and the Wartime Information Board, 1939-1945," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers 1978, pp. 217-239; both are taken from his unpublished Ph.D. thesis on the Wartime Information Board, "Making the Truth Graphic," University of British Columbia, 1978.

7. Depending on the person and circumstances, any of these categories may be preeminent at a given time, as could, for example, marital status, sexual orientation, or religious persuasion.

8. PACA Madge Macbeth Papers, MG 30 D 52, Finding Aid #367, Vol. 17, Wartime Diary 1939-1945. Hereafter referred to as MM Wartime Diary.

9. There are Archive restrictions on Madge Macbeth's wartime diary and family restrictions on Douglas' letters which limit what can be written about intimate details of their personal lives. It also appears that her letters to him did not survive the war. The material in the MSC holdings and the Archives includes some letters to Madge Macbeth from friends and colleagues, but, unfortunately, she destroyed "hundreds" of others. MSC letter to Mike Macbeth from Madge Macbeth, undated.

10. For a discussion which I feel applies to biography as well as autobiography, see Personal Narratives Group (eds.), Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 1989.

11. These interviews are somewhat limited, either because of my subjects' experience of Madge and/or their reluctance to discuss some aspects of their relationships with her. Gaskell preferred to comment mostly on the professional aspects of her life, rather than the personal ones. He did not want to be recorded on audio tape, so I have relied on the notes I made immediately after the formal interview in Montreal and a subsequent telephone conversation. British-born Ann Macbeth said it was only after the war, when she came to Canada as Douglas' wife, that she got to know her mother-in-law. Ann, a singer with a working class background, explained that her initial impression of the domineering, socially-correct Madge as "terrifying" softened as the two gradually became better friends over the years. She feels that there was much about her to admire. Ann's daughter, Mike Macbeth, a business journalist, took pains to point out that her own impressions of

Madge are the ones she experienced as a young girl and teenager who was in awe of her matriarchal grandmother. Her somewhat critical view is tempered by her acknowledgement of Madge's tendency to hide her deepest feelings in public, and her financial generosity to Douglas' family. Interviews with Eric Gaskell conducted by Barbara M. Freeman, March 15 and 18, 1991; Ann Macbeth interview and Mike Macbeth interviews, op. cit.

12. Madge Macbeth, "What We Should Strive For." The Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol. XIX, No. 2, June 1943, cover page.

13. The work of Joan Wallach Scott has been influential in Canada as it has in the United States. Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History. New York: Columbia University Press 1988. For a provocative interpretation of the social construction of gender roles in America, which includes much material on the 20th century, see John D'Emilio, and Estelle B. Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America. New York: Harper and Row 1988. On recent Canadian scholarship, see Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Postmodern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History in Canada," in Canadian Historical Review, Special Issue on Women's History. Vol. LXX22, No. 4, December 1991, pp. 441-470.

14. Sara Ruddick, Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace. New York: Ballantine Books 1989, pp. 154-156.

15. Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All" -- The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1986, pp. 41-48.

16. Gerda Lerner, among others, has emphasized the importance of the interconnections between gender, race and class. Gerda Lerner, "Reconceptualizing Differences Among Women," in Journal of Women's History, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Winter 1990), pp. 116. For Canada, see Ruth Roach Pierson, "Experience, Difference, Dominance and Voice in the Writing of Canadian Women's History, " in Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall, eds. Writing Women's History: International Perspectives. London: Macmillan Co., 1991.

17. Mary Vipond, "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s," in J.M. Bumstead, Interpreting Canada's Past, Vol. 2: Canadian History Since Confederation. Toronto: Oxford University Press 1986, pp. 260-277. See also Maria Tippett, Making Culture 1900-1950. Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1990, Chapter 6.

18. The classic works in Canada are John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1965; and Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, The Carleton Library Series, No. 89, 1975.

19. Watson Kirkconnell, from his speech "A Writer's Task in Wartime," delivered to the 1940 CAA convention. Ibid., pp. 7-9. Kirkconnell was Head of the Department of English at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario and a member of the CAA executive committee.

20. "Member of Old Cecil County Family Heads Author's Association," an undated, unmarked loose clipping in PACA Madge Macbeth Papers, Vol. 15, "Scrapbook 1941-1950"; Madge Macbeth, Boulevard Career, Toronto: Kingswood Press 1957.

21. Macbeth, Boulevard Career, Chapter 4 and 5; and "My First Book," in Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol. XXIX, No. 3 Autumn. 1953, pp. 3-4. Other biographical information is in Madge Macbeth, Over My Shoulder, Toronto: Ryerson Press 1953; and from Mike Macbeth and Ann Macbeth interviews.

22. Macbeth, Boulevard Career, Chapters 10 and 11.

23. Mike Macbeth interview.

24. There are many copies and drafts of her work in PACA MM Papers, especially Volumes 5, 9-11, 18.

25. During the war, she contemplated being a radio announcer, because the CBC had lost a number of its male employees to the armed forces. MM Wartime Diary, May 26, 1940, pp. 78-78. See also MM Papers, Vol 4: Wartime letters. Correspondent 1939. Item 2112 from Hugh Morrison -- CBC Supervisor of Talks -- dated Oct. 28, 1939 mentions Madge had done broadcasting many times before.

26. Eric Gaskell interview. See also PACA Media Club of Canada, MG 28 I 232, finding aid 1006, Vol. 43, CWPC Newspacket. March 1, 1938, p. 2; Ibid, Sept 1, 1938, p. 1; Ibid., Feb 1, 1939, pp. 3-4.

27. One novel is about a woman writer who was oppressed by her husband's and uncle's domestic demands, and is tempted, but not persuaded, to run away with a radical-minded lover. Madge Macbeth, Shackles (Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers, 1925). She also delighted in doing irreverent take-offs of Ottawa's political and social life. See "Gilbert Knox" (Madge Macbeth), The Land of Afternoon -- A Satire, Ottawa: Graphic Publishers 1924. For drafts, copies and correspondence relating to her novels, see PACA MM Papers, Vols. 1-8.

28. She joined in CWPC in 1913. PACA Media Club of Canada, Vol. 40, file 40-1, membership "M"; Mike Macbeth and Eric Gaskell interviews.

29. In December 1939, she was invited to a party held by the Prime Minister. MM Wartime Diary, Dec. 6, 1939, p. 52. Mike and Ann Macbeth interviews; Eric Gaskell interview.

30. Madge Macbeth and "A.B. Conway" (Major E.L.M. Burns), Beggar Your Neighbour. London: Stanley Paul 1928. Published in Canada as The Great Fright New York: Gouin, New York 1928 and Montreal: Louis Carrier and Co., 1929; She also collaborated with General Burns on Wings in the West London: John Hamilton 1932. See Macbeth, "My First Book," p. 4.

31. Many of them are mentioned in MM Wartime Diary. She defended her attendance at parties at Government House, the official residence of the Governor-General of Canada, on the grounds that it was symbolic of "that perfection in social relationships most of us longed to possess...a reward for special qualifications." Madge Macbeth, Boulevard Career, pp. 90-91.

32. Ann Macbeth and Mike Macbeth interviews.

33. See for example, MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, June 24, 1940.

34. Mike Macbeth interview.

35. MM Wartime Diary, Dec. 6, 1939, p. 54.

36. Mike Macbeth interview.

37. Eric Gaskell, introduction to J. Douglas Macbeth, Somewhere in England, Macmillan's War Pamphlet Series 1942.

38. Madge Macbeth, "And Still the Heart is Home," Saturday Night, August. 15, 1942, p. 158. The Fenian Brotherhood, a militant Irish-American group, conducted raids on Canadian territory during the 1860s. The object was to capture Canada and use it as a base against Britain. Louis Riel led the Metis people in two unsuccessful uprisings against what they regarded as white settlers' incursions on their Prairie territories. Riel was hung by the authorities in 1885.

39. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, July 2, 1940.

40. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, April 8, 1940 and August 21, 1942.

41. "I will never surrender to any yellow monkey..." MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, Jan 6, 1942.

42. He referred to the Italian women and children interned in Ethiopia as "wops." MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, April 3, 1941.

43. He accused British Jews of being "war profiteers" and advocated kicking them out of the country. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth July 31, 1941.

44. Mike Macbeth interview.

45. Ann Macbeth interview.

46. MM Wartime Diary, Dec. 3, 1939, p. 51.

47. Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, May 27, 1940.

48. Clipping of Sunday Pictorial, May 19, 1940, n.p. with MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, May 25, 1940.

49. There was apparently an "advance party" with which he was not involved. Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, May 27, 1940.

50. See Paul M. Couture, "The Vichy - Free French Propaganda War in Quebec, 1940 to 1942," Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers 1978, pp. 200-215; and George D. Kerr, "Skirting the Minefield: Press Censorship, Politics and French Canada 1940," Canadian Journal of Communication. Vol. 8, No. 2 (January 1982), pp. 46-64.

51. Regulation 21 allowed "preventative" internment without trial, with restrictions on the property and communication rights of the internees. In the early years of the war, this regulation was used mainly against German and Italian aliens, Canadians of German and Italian descent, fascists and left-wing activists, mainly Communists in the labour movement. Later, it was used against Japanese-Canadians. Section 15 regulated the press, with no appeal mechanism. The vaguely-worded Regulations 39 and 39A forbade criticism of government, reporting troop movements and other war-related information, and spreading rumours. Several foreign-language and left-wing journals were suppressed during the early years of the war, while the Clarion, published by the Communist Party of Canada, was shut down for the duration. Only four mainstream newspapers, two French-language and two English-language, were charged under the regulations. Three were fined and one was acquitted. Cook, "Canadian Liberalism in Wartime: A Study of the Defence of Canada Regulations and Some Canadian Attitudes to Civil Liberties in Wartime." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University 1955, Chapters 3, 8; Robert H. Keyserlingk, "'Agents within the Gates': The Search for Nazi Subversives in Canada during World War II," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXVI, No. 2, (June 1985); 211-Stammers, p. 22.

52. Cook, "Canadian Liberalism", Chapter 4; Thomas Socknat, Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900-1945, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1987, Chapters 7 and 8.

53. PACA MM Papers, Vol 4: Wartime letters. Correspondence 1939: item #2109, a clipping dated October 1939. Item #2108-#2111 -- a letter to Madge Macbeth from Eric Gaskell dated Oct. 23rd, 1939, makes the local branch connection clear.

54. Eric Gaskell interview.

55. As published in The Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol. XVII, No. 3, November 1940, pp. 4-6. Madge spoke on a similar theme at the annual convention in Vancouver the following year. Accounts of her speech were carried in newspapers in other cities. See "Madge Macbeth calls Writers 'To Arms' in Cause of Freedom." Edmonton Journal August, 21, 1941, n.p.; and "Big Moment for Authors in Canada," Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, Aug. 22, 1941, n.p. Clippings in MM, Vol. 15, "Scrapbook 1941-1950."

56. As published in The Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol. XVII, No. 3, November 1940, pp. 7-9. For an argument that the Canadian government and the RCMP over-reacted to the threat, see Keyserlingk, op. cit. Anti-semitism was already quite common in Canada, which, like other countries, had refused to admit Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler. Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None is Too Many: Canadians and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys 1982.

57. Kirkconnell. op. cit. Quote on p. 8. This view of the meaning of propaganda was shared by the Americans and the British at the time. K.R.M. Short stresses the wartime interchangeability of the terms "propaganda", "information", and "education" from their official perspectives: "..they meant persuasion by whatever method was most applicable to the purpose in hand and best suited to the social and education background of the persons to be persuaded." K.R.M. Short (ed.), Film and Radio Propaganda in World War II. London: Croom Helm 1983, p. 2.

58. Eggleston, formerly a journalist with the Toronto Daily Star, was Press Officer for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations before being appointed press censor and then Chief Censor. The Canadian Author and Bookman, November 1940, pp. 11-12. See also Wilfrid Eggleston, "Press Censorship," in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 7 (1941); and his autobiography, While I Still Remember, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada Limited 1968, Chapters 14, 15 and 16. The initial resistance of some news editors to censorship mellowed with improving bureaucratic management. Complaints became sporadic, usually in response to isolated incidents of "over-censorship." See Young, op. cit.; Christopher Waddell, "The Wartime Prices and Trade Board," unpublished M.A. thesis, York University, Toronto 1982, Chapter 8.

59. See Robert Albota, "Dan McArthur's Concept of Objectivity and His Struggle to Defend the Integrity of the CBC News Service 1940-1945," unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa 1988. Rene Landry of the CBC was radio censor. Material pertaining to the war is in PACA Rene Landry Papers, MG 30 E 326, Vol. 2. A detailed, early study of the Canadian situation can be found in Cook, "Canadian Liberalism in Wartime," especially chapters 4 and 6.

60. The vice-president of the CAA, B.K. Sandwell of Saturday Night magazine, took a different tack from Kirkconnel and many of his colleagues. Sandwell, who was also the sometime president of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, championed personal civil liberties and upheld the right of labour to criticize government action. See B.K. Sandwell, "The Growing Sense of Insecurity" in Saturday Night, Vol. 56, No. 16, Nov. 16, 1940, p. 6, cited by Cook, "Canadian Liberalism," p. 135; B.K. Sandwell, Saturday Night, Vol. 55, No. 18, Jan. 20, 1940, p. 1, cited by Cook, Ibid., p. 179. See also Fraser Sutherland, The Monthly Epic -- A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside 1988, pp. 172-173. The CCLA, alarmed at the Defence of Canada regulations, had called a conference for January 1940 in Montreal, but it was decided that the CAA should send only an observer, not a representative. The cautious Eric Gaskell, assuming that Madge agreed with him, did not want the CAA to "be compromised in any way." PACA MM Papers, Vol 4: Wartime letters. Correspondence 1939. Items #2172 and #2176: Eric Gaskell to Madge Macbeth, December 9, 1939 and December 20, 1939; and Item #2173: Gaskell to the Secretary of the CCLU, R.A.C. Ballantyne, December 19, 1939.

61. As published in The Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol. XVII, No. 3, November 1940, pp. 11-12. For varying views of the newspapers' roles in wartime, see the comments of W.L. MacTavish, editor of the Vancouver Daily Province, quoted by the Canadian Press news agency in "Too Much Newspaper Hush-Hush," Regina Leader-Post. August 22, 1941, and "Authors Are Told of Duties of the Press," in the Montreal Gazette, August 22. 1941, copies in MM, Vol. 15, Scrapbook 1941-1950. See also the comments of J.A. NcNeill, General Manager of the Canadian Press, in a CP story, "Declares Press Must Go All-Out for Victory," in the London Free Press, Sept. 10, 1942, copy in MM. Vol. 16, "1939-1945 Loose Clippings" file.

62. MSC W.A. Deacon to Madge Macbeth, October 23, 1941.

63. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, July 2, 1940 and July 11, 1940. The following spring, Douglas picked up a copy of the Montreal Standard, which had been lying around the mess, and saw a photograph of the same suspect, skiing north of Montreal. He told Madge that he immediately sat down and wrote a letter to the Commissioner of the RCMP, "saying you had reported it several times." MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, April 3, 1941.

64. Young, Waddell, op. cit. The American propaganda system is described in Allan M. Winkler, The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information 1942-1945, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1978 and Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press 1984.

65. See clippings, "Prominent Women Writers Here for Author's Convention", Vancouver Sun Aug. 20, 1941, n.p.; and "Authors will Study War's Effect on Literature," Vancouver News-Herald, Aug. 21, 1941, n.p. in MM, Vol. 15, File "Scrapbook 1941-1950."

66. The membership records of the Canadian Women's Press Club are quite revealing in this regard. PACA Media Club of Canada, Vols. 38-41.

67. For examples, see Pierson, "They're Still Women After All," Chapter 1.

68. Three members of the CWPC were war correspondents: Millie McGee of the Toronto Globe and Mail, Margaret Ecker of the Canadian Press news agency and Gladys Arnold, also of CP, who quit to do public relations for the Free French. See PACA Media Club of Canada Papers, Vols. 42 and 43, Newspackets, May and August 1944; and Gladys Arnold, One Woman's War: A Canadian Reporter with the Free French, (Toronto: Lorimer 1987).

69. The national president of the Press Club, Rosa L. Shaw, agitated successfully for the acceptance of some women journalists as both newsroom editors, and government propagandists. PACA Media Club of Canada Papers, Vols. 42 and 43, Newspackets, 1939-45; Waddell, Chapter 8.

70. Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", pp. 9, 12, 35-38. In Quebec, there was male resistance to the war effort, and especially to conscription. The Clio Collective, Quebec Women: A History. Trans. Roger Gannon and Rosalind Gill. Toronto: The Women's Press 1987, pp. 277-292.

71. MM Wartime Diary, May 23, 1940, pp. 72-73.

72. Eric Gaskell interview; MM Wartime Diary, July 10, 1940, p. 80.

73. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, Feb 29, 1940.

74. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, July 2, 1940.

75. See "Council of Women ready to raise funds to purchase fighting plane." The Citizen June 18, 1940, n.p. See also "Mrs. Madge Macbeth Stresses Soldiers' Need for Ammunition," Ottawa Journal June 18, 1940, n.p. Both articles in PACA MM Papers, Vol. 16, "1940 Loose Clippings File." In her diary, she mentions making several broadcasts. MM Wartime Diary, July 10 and July 12, 1941, pp. 80-84.

76. Her emphasis. MM Wartime Diary, July 10, 1940, p. 83.

77. MM Wartime Diary, July 16, 1940, p. 88.

78. The Clio Collective, Quebec Women, p. 292.

79. MM Vol. 16, "Loose Clippings 1939-1945, undated, n.p.

80. "Is Woman's War, Writer Declares," unmarked, undated clipping; and "Madge Macbeth Canadian Club Speaker Here," Edmonton Journal, Nov, 20, 1940, p. 8. Copies of both articles in PACA MM Papers, Vol. 16, 1939-1940 Loose Clippings file. See also Ibid., Vol. 14, Scrapbook 1940 "Tour of Women's Canadian Clubs, October-November 1940," which includes the following clippings: "Mrs. Madge Macbeth Urges Women Help Provide Guns and Ignore Nazi Propaganda," Winnipeg Free Press, Tues. Oct. 29, n.p.; "Altered Duties of Women in Wartime Are Discussed By Mrs. Macbeth for Club," Regina Leader-Post, Monday Nov. 4, n.p.; "Angel of Mercy Not Only Women's Role in War Time", Calgary Albertan, Sat. Nov. 9, n.p; "Women Must Change Attitude Toward War Says Writer," Calgary Herald, Sat. Nov. 9, n.p.; "Speaker to Canadian Club Outlines Women's Role in War", Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 21, n.p.; "Women's New Role In War Emphasized by Guest Speaker", Victoria Daily Colonist, Nov 16, n.p. Women made up 48 percent of the 130,000 civilians wounded or killed in bombing attacks during the Blitz. Harold L. Smith, "The effect of the war on the status of women," in H. Smith, (ed.), War and Social Change. 80. p. 209.

81. "Is Woman's War, Writer Declares," op. cit.

82. "Madge Macbeth Canadian Club Speaker Here," Edmonton Journal, Nov. 21, 1940, p. 8. Copy in PACA MM Papers, Vol. 16, 1939-1940 Loose Clippings file, marked in her writing as Nov. 20.
See also "Sentimentalists May Be Canada's Fifth Column Says Canadian Author in Interview Wednesday", Edmonton Bulletin, Nov. 20. n.p.; and "Madge Macbeth Claims Sentimentalists May Be Fifth Columnists", Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, Nov. 23, n.p. Copies in MM. Vol. 14, Scrapbook 1940 "Tour of Women's Canadian Clubs."

83. Madge Macbeth to the Ottawa Citizen, July 1, 1940. Clipping in MM Papers, Vol. 16, "1940 Loose Clippings file." Several American scholars have discussed middle class attitudes towards working women during depression and war. See, for example, Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave. Basic Books: 1983, especially Chapters 6 and 7.

84. In 1939, there were 638,000 Canadian women in the official workforce (about 25 percent of all workers), of whom 10 percent were married. By 1944, there were 1,077,000 women (roughly one-third of the workforce), of whom 35 percent were married. In other words, by 1944, there were about 376,000 married women in the workforce, or six times as many as there had been in 1939. It should be noted official statistics present several problems concerning participation rates and categorization. Separated women were counted as married in the census at the time, and there was a sharp increase in the number of young women who married during the war. The census did not include farming women, many sweatshop

workers or women who worked part time. Beth Light and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds. No Easy Road: Women in Canada, 1920s to 1960s Toronto: New Hogtown Press 1988, p. 132; Alison Prentice et al, Canadian Women -- A History. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1988, pp. 292, 311: Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", pp. 9, 23-48, 215; S.J. Wilson, Women, Families and Work, Third edition. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson 1991, pp. 64-66; 81-82.

85. The civilians were between 20 and 24, single and married. The single ones were put to work first, then childless wives, then mothers. Wilson, Women, Families and Work. p. 81; Pierson, "They're Still Women After All," pp. 44-48.

86. See the account of a speech she made to the Notre Dame de Grace Women's Club in Montreal, "All-Out War Effort Urged." Unmarked, undated clipping in MM Vol. 16, 1941 Loose Clippings file; Madge Macbeth, "By the Sweat of Your Brow Shall You Win the War," Saturday Night, August 15, 1942, p. 20 Copy in Ibid., 1942 Loose Clippings file; Madge Macbeth, "Don't Throw Away Your Bullets," Saturday Night, November 1, 1942, p. 42.

87. MM Wartime Diary, Dec. 7, 1941, p. 124.

88. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, May 14, 1940.

89. See "A Canadian Mother's View," the editor's heading over a letter she wrote to the Ottawa Citizen, dated February 4, 1942. It is interesting that, in her letter, she does not mention that she is a mother. Clipping in PACA Madge Macbeth Papers, Vol. 16, 1942 Loose Clippings file.

90. "Voluntary System Held Failure Here," Unmarked. undated clipping c. July 1941, PACA Madge Macbeth papers, Vol. 16, 1939-1945 Loose Clippings file. Westmount was an exclusive, English-speaking area of Montreal. She later made another speech on the same theme at a women's club in the more modest Anglophone area of Notre Dame de Grace, nearby. See the Montreal Gazette, Nov. 8, 1941, p. 4. Clipping in Ibid., 1941 Loose Clippings file.

91. "Strikers Help the Enemy," a letter dated Jan. 14, 1943 and signed Madge Macbeth, undated, unmarked clipping, Ibid., 1943 Loose Clippings file;"Impressions of Dieppe Described by Ottawan," The Evening Citizen, November 21, 1942, copy in Ibid., 1942 Loose Clipping file; original letter MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, Aug. 21, 1942.

92. Madge Macbeth, "And Still the Heart is Home," in the Dalhousie Review, Vol. XXI, No. 2, July 1941, pp. 158-169; See also J. Douglas Macbeth, Somewhere in England, edited by Eric Gaskell, op. cit. Gaskell says today that the letters were not written for the war effort, but after Madge showed them to him, he brought them to Macmillan's Publishers because he felt that, as the letters of an

officer at the front, they had authenticity. He also says that Madge had edited the letters for the Dalhousie Review too strictly and that the editor put some of the details back in, which upset her. Eric Gaskell interviews, March 15 and 18, 1991.

93. MSC, Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, June 6, 1940; July 2, 1940; March 27, 1941; April 3. 1941; June 1, 1941.

94. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth Aug 19, 1941.

95. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, Aug 25, 1941.

96. He did several interviews with Bob Bowman, a reporter for the CBC Overseas Reporting Unit, who had gone over on the same troopship as the Signals. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, Feb. 12, 1940.

97. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth Oct. 30, 1940. Some of these programs were recorded on Blattnerphone machines -- early tape recorders -- or gramophone discs that could be played, either in CBC studios or the military camps, later on. In the fall of 1940, Bowman spent two days with Douglas, recording a disc for a program entitled "A Day with the Divisional Signals," which, Douglas wrote, was mainly unrehearsed. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, Feb. 10 and July 12, 1940; Jan. 8, 12, 15, 1941; March 20, July 24 and 26, 1941; MM Wartime Diary, Jan. 14, 1941, p. 98. It appears the broadcasts did not survive. Most of the Overseas Unit programs that were saved were recorded between 1943-1946. See Ernest J. Dick, (ed), Guide to CBC Sources at the Public Archives, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services 1987, entries no. 62, 606 pp. 15, 84. The story of the Unit is told by Albert E. Powley, Broadcast from the Front, Toronto: Hakkert 1975.

98. In one message program Douglas listened to, many of the women were in tears. MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, March 23, 1941. Well-known broadcaster Kate Aitken recorded a message program on her "Tamblyn Drugs" show on radio station CFRB in Toronto. On December 3, 1940, 141 wives, mothers and sisters crowded into the studio to record their messages and sing Christmas carols for the soldiers overseas. The program was recorded and sent to England that same afternoon to be played in the various military camps. See PACA Kate Aitken Paper, MG 30 D206, Vol. 7, script #1299.

99. Eric Gaskell interview; Mike Macbeth concurs that her grandmother had a talent for speaking extemporaneously.

100. MSC Madge Macbeth radio script. Marked in pencil in her handwriting: "A broadcast I made -- M.M," undated.

101. One thousand others were involved in the raid but returned without trying to disembark at Dieppe. Villa, p. 16.

102. Douglas had earlier been transferred to the 2nd Division Signals. Undated clipping "Not Even Shells Could Silence Canadian Signalers at Dieppe." MSC scrapbook of letters from Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth.

103. Villa, pp. 17-18.

104. "Impressions of Dieppe Described by Ottawan," The Ottawa Evening Citizen, op. cit. Taken from MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, July 24, 1942; in a subsequent letter he commented, "All my officers safe but one wounded. Many men missing but at the moment, it is no one's business but the heirs." MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, August 21, 1942.

105. After Dieppe, the BBC paid Douglas four guineas and 17 shillings expenses for a talk entitled "Khaki Scrapbook: the Signals at Dieppe," scheduled to air on the CBC on September 1, 1942 between 1:15-1:45. A clipping dated Nov 3, 1942 from the Ottawa Evening Citizen covers a talk given by Bob Bowman of the CBC, who had covered the raid, in which he praised Douglas and the Canadians troops. MSC scrapbook of letters from Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth.

106. Villa argues that Lord Louis Mountbatten went ahead with the raid despite the fact that he did not have official authorization to do so. According to Villa, the Canadian generals were variously too ambitious for their own troops, and too inexperienced to carry the raid off. Villa, Unauthorized Action, especially Chapter 10.

107. Clippings from the Ottawa Journal Nov. 2, 1943. n.p.; and the Ottawa Evening Citizen, Nov. 3, 1943, n.p.; several letters of congratulations, including one from the CWPC in MSC scrapbook containing letters from Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth. Brief note in MM Wartime Diary, November 3, 1943, p. 144.

108. Eric Gaskell interview.

109. Madge Macbeth, "Wives also Serve", Mayfair, Sept. 1944, p. 31. Copies of this and other Mayfair articles, mostly about the diplomatic set, are in MM, Vol. 15, "Scrapbook 1943-1945." There is also a clipping of an article of hers from the War Finance Review, Feb. 15, 1943 and a partial copy of a short story she wrote about a young woman who suspects her boyfriend is a coward. Family Herald and Weekly Star, Oct. 20, 1943, p. 18. Ibid., 1943 Loose Clippings.

110. Madge Macbeth, "A New Psychological Approach to Housekeeping is Needed," Saturday Night, April 15 1944, p. 38; and "Raise Her Status and the Worker May Return to the House," Saturday Night, April 22, 1944, p. 32. Ibid., 1944 Loose Clippings. On reconstruction attitudes, see Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", pp. 215-220.

111. Ibid and PACA Canadian Authors' Association MG 28 I 2, Vol. 3, Writers' War Committee, "Headquarters" file. The committee was active for only a year. It gave back its modest funding and disbanded after one of its key members left the country and "new management" at the WIB for some reason stopped expressing interest in its activities. Watson Kirckconnel, "Report on the Writers' War Committee," in The Canadian Author and Bookman, Vol. XX, No. 3, September 1944, pp. 9-10.

112. I refer here to the letters at Stouffville.

113. It appears this rivalry began when Bill Deacon of the Toronto chapter objected to an arrangement Eric Gaskell made with Hugh Morrison to have Madge Macbeth speak in Deacon's place on the CBC during National Book Week in 1940. PACA Madge Macbeth Papers, Vol. 5: "Canadian Authors Association 1939-1940" file. Copy of letter from Bill Deacon to the executive of the CAA, October 30, 1939; and Ibid, Vol. 4, Letter from Bill Deacon to Madge Macbeth, Nov. 20, 1939, Items #2149-51. Deacon complained that Gaskell had overstepped his authority as National Secretary and that he, Deacon, was out of pocket because of it.

114. Granatstein, especially Chapter 6. In her diary, she expressed frustration at Quebecers' refusal to vote 'yes'." MM Wartime Diary April 27, 1942, p. 132.

115. Pierson, "They're Still Women After All," p. 40; Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "'Pigeon-Holed and Forgotten': The Work of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women, 1943," in Histoire Sociale/Social History 15, 29 (March-May 1982), pp. 239-59.

116. Eric Gaskell interview.

117. There are several entries in her diary, not all of which can be quoted. Unrestricted ones include MM Wartime Diary, March 26, 1942, p. 130; Oct. 7, 1942, p. 139. Douglas referred to the situation several times in his letters. Unrestricted entries include MSC Douglas Macbeth to Madge Macbeth, May 6, 1940; August 30. 1940; November 25, 1941; Dec. 12, 1941.

118. MM Wartime Diary, Sept. 15, 1940, p. 95; Ibid., Sept. 21, 1940. PACA Madge Macbeth, Vol. 4, Correspondence 1940-1941, item #2268) dated April 10, 1940, Madge Macbeth to Bill Deacon; MM Wartime Diary, July 20, 1941. In the spring of 1943, after a bout with flu that almost turned into pneumonia, she had her tonsils removed. Ibid., Feb. 6, 1943 and April 19, 1943, pp. 142-143.

119. See, for example, Madge Macbeth, "The Man Without", a serial that ran in the Family Herald and Weekly Star, July 1940 - Sept. 1940; and "Little Land of Paraguay," Dalhousie Review, Vol. XXII, No. 3 October 1942, pp. 311-320.

120. MM Wartime Diary, Sept. 21, 1940.

121. MM Wartime Diary, Jan. 14, 1941, p. 98. Madge Macbeth, Shreds of Circumstance, London: W.H. Allen; Toronto: Reginald Saunders 1947.

122. Her home on Chapel Street was near Parliament Hill and the main downtown streets. MM Wartime Diary, May 8, 1945, pp. 148-149.

123. Ann Macbeth and Mike Macbeth interviews.

124. MSC Eric Gaskell to Madge Macbeth, January 7, 1950.

125. Susan Henry, "Changing Media History through Women's History." In Pamela J. Creedon, (ed.), Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications 1989.

126. The main works covering this period include: W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, Carleton Library Series, No. 36, 1978; Mary Vipond, The Mass Media In Canada, Toronto: Lorimer 1989; Mark Raboy, Missed Opportunities -- The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press 1990.

127. Young; Waddell; Cook, "Canadian Liberalism,"; Albota; and Sergit Kaur, "The Question of the Independence of the CBC during the Second World War: A Historical Analysis." M.A. Thesis, Department of Communication, University of Windsor 1982.

128. Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", op. cit.; Teresa M. Nash, "Images of Women in National Film Board of Canada Films During World War II and the Post-War Years," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, McGill University 1982; Yvonne Matthews-Klein, "How They Saw Us: Images of Women in National Film Board Films of the 1940's and 1950's," in Atlantis, 4 (2), Spring 1979: pp. 20-33; M. Susan Bland, "Henriettta the Homemaker and Rosie the Riveter: Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-1950" in Atlantis, 8, 2 (Spring 1983). For a study on advertising, fiction and non-fiction in the Saturday Evening Post and True Confessions, which Canadian women also read, see Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter, op. cit. Leila J. Rupp's groundbreaking work was useful, but flawed in that it assumed media impact on its female audience. Leila J. Rupp, Mobilizing Women for the War: German and American Propaganda 1939-1945. (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1978).

129. Susannah J. Wilson, "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulating Magazines, 1930-1970. Atlantis 2(2), Part 2, Spring 1977, pp. 33-44. This article was taken from her unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "The Relationship Between Mass Media Content and Social Change in Canada: An Examination of the Image of Women in

Mass Circulating Canadian Magazines, 1930-1970," University of Toronto 1977.

130. For example, none of the historical essays in a recent anthology deal with the Second World War in depth. Janice Williamson and Deborah Gorham (eds.) Up and Doing: Canadian Women and Peace, Toronto: The Women's Press 1989. In fact, as Thomas Socknat makes clear, pacifists of both sexes were few and far between after the war broke out. Socknat, Witness Against War, Chapters 7, 8, 9. For a discussion of the various stances Canadian women's groups took on peace issues in the inter-war years, see Veronica Strong-Boag, "Peace-Making Women: Canada 1919-1939," in Ruth Roach Pierson, (ed.) Women and Peace, pp. 170-191.

131. See, for example, Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: sex roles, family relations and the status of women during World War II, Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press 1981; D'Ann Campbell, Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1984; Susan M. Hartmann, The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s. Boston: Twayne Publishers 1982; Ruth Milkman, Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987. The scholarly sources do not concern themselves, however, with women journalists and broadcasters. Two American sources that are helpful but more narrative than analytical are Julia Edwards, Women of the World: the Great Foreign Correspondents. New York: Ivy Books 1988; and Lilya Wagner, Women War Correspondents of World War Two. Westport, Conn: Greenwood 1989. For scholarly sources on Britain, see Denise Riley, "Some Peculiarities of Social Policy concerning Women in Wartime and Postwar Britain," in Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al (eds.), Behind the Lines, pp.260-271; Harold L. Smith, "The womanpower problem in Britain during the Second World War," in Historical Journal, XXVII, 1984, pp. 925-945; Margaret Allen, "The domestic ideal and the mobilization of womanpower in World War II," [UK] in Women's Studies International Forum, VI, 1983, pp. 441-445.

132. Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", op. cit. Other scholars feel some aspects of Pierson's work are too negative and consequently misrepresent both women's efforts and public attitudes towards them. See Diane G. Forestell, "The Necessity of Sacrifice for the Nation at War: Women's Labour Force Participation 1939-1946." Histoire Sociale/Social History Vol. XXII, No. 44 (November 1989), pp. 333-348; and Brandt, "Pigeon-Holed and Forgotten," op. cit.

133. Many of these women belonged to clubs affiliated with the National Council of Women of Canada. For a study of its origins, membership and early influence, see Veronica Strong-Boag, Parliament of Women: the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada 1976; see also Brandt, "Pigeon-Holed and Forgotten." op. cit.

134. Fraser Sutherland's journalistic and somewhat jumbled history of Canadian magazines includes a cursory discussion of the conservative, "upwardly mobile" appeal of Saturday Night, the elite tone of Mayfair, and, as apparent from its title, the ladylike but more general middle-class market of Chatelaine. According to Sutherland, the content and paper quality of most Canadian magazines, including both Mayfair and Chatelaine, were cut back during the war. Sutherland, pp. 167; 153-163. Among the magazines available to working class women during the war was an American publication, True Confessions. See Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter, op. cit.

135. For a spirited defence of the choice of "privileged" women as subjects, see Carolyn Heilbrun, "Non-Autobiographies of 'Privileged' Women: England and America," in Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck, Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography, Ithica and London: Cornell University Press 1988. For an interesting discussion of pacifist issues, in the context of a British writer, see Yvonne Aleksandra Bennett, "Vera Brittain and the Peace Pledge Union: Women and Peace," especially the comments from historians Deborah Gorham and Jo Vellacott following the article, in Ruth Roach Pierson, (ed.), Women and Peace, pp. 192-213.

The Attempt to Censor Racist Speech: The NAACP's Protests against *The Birth of a Nation*, 1915-1916

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The Attempt to Censor Racist Speech: The NAACP's Protests against *The Birth of a Nation*, 1915-1916

David W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*, first shown to the public in 1915, had two distinct parts. The first half of the film covered the start of the Civil War to the assassination of Abraham Lincoln in documentary style. The second part, based on Thomas Dixon's best-seller novel *The Clansmen*, dramatized the Reconstruction period in the South, portraying blacks as arrogant, lustful, and villainous, except for those who faithfully remained with their former masters. The film ends with the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, which was portrayed as rescuing the Southern whites from the terror of freed blacks.

Because of its blatantly prejudiced contents, the film touched off a series of protest led by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) above the Mason-Dixon line throughout 1915 and 1916. The five-year-old organization went to mayors' offices, city councils, police departments, and the courts in order to win a ban of the film's screening. But the efforts to halt the film were largely to no avail. White crowds streamed to ticket windows of the theaters showing the film and erupted into applause as they marvelled at the artistic mastery as well as the dramatic victory of the Klan in the movie. The first run of the film during 1915 and 1916 was enormously successful, generating more than $60 million in box-office business.[1]

The controversies surrounding the 1915 release of *The Birth of a Nation* was one of the first and most well-known instances concerning the censorship of "racist speech." The

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[1] Richard Schickel, *D.W. Griffith: An American Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 281. The primary sources of this study are the microfilm version of *D. W. Griffith Papers, 1897-1954* (Frederick, Md.: University Publication of America, 1982) and *Crisis*, the official journal of the NAACP. Most of the newspaper references are from the *D. W. Griffith Papers*. Among the major secondary sources are Fred Silva's *Focus on The Birth of a Nation* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971), a collection of articles dealing with the film, and Nickieanne Fleener-Marzec's Ph.D. dissertation, *D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation : Controversy, Suppression, and the First Amendment as It Applies to Filmic Expression, 1915-1973* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), which provided an exhaustive survey of the censorship efforts at local, state and national levels through various legal and extra-legal attempts.

current conflict over racist speech is a collision of two significant constitutional rights: the right to free speech guaranteed by the First Amendment and the right to equal protection of the law regardless of race guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. But none of those rights was a major factor in the government decisions to censor or not to censor *The Birth of a Nation* at the time. Even though the constitutional provisions were the same as they are now, the political and constitutional settings on free speech and racial equality were far different.

Neither the right to free speech nor the right to equal protection regardless of race had been protected vigorously as of 1915. The First Amendment had been regarded as only binding the federal government, and the U.S. Supreme Court had few cases to apply or interpret it.[2] In addition, the motion picture industry, which was still in its infancy, was regarded as a business but not part of the press to be protected by the First Amendment.[3] Meanwhile, the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee of equal protection under law had been gutted by the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1896 that upheld the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" doctrine.[4] Social, political, and legal discrimination against blacks was an accepted norm in these days.

Subsequently, even though the protest against the initial showing of *The Birth of a Nation* was surely an attempt to censor a "racist speech," neither the right to free speech nor

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[2] See David M. Rabban, "The First Amendment in Its Forgotten Years," *Yale Law Journal* 90 (1981): 514-95 and "The Emergence of Modern First Amendment Doctrine," *University of Chicago Law Review* 50 (1983): 1205-1355; Alexis J. Anderson, "The Formative Period of First Amendment Theory, 1879-1915," *American Journal of Legal History* 24 (1980): 56-65; Leon Whipple, *The Story of Civil Liberty in the United States* (Westport. Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1927, reprinted 1970); Margaret Blanchard, "Filling in the Void: Speech and Press in State Courts Prior to *Gitlow*," in *The First Amendment Reconsidered*, Bill Chamberlin and Charlene J. Brown, eds. (New York: Longman, 1982), 14-59.

[3] In *Mutual Film Co. v. Industrial Commission of Ohio*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously held that motion pictures are a "business pure and simple, originated and conducted for profit," and its regulation is valid because films were "capable of evil . . . because of their attractiveness and manner of exhibition." 236 U.S. 230 (1915), 244.

[4] Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

the right to equal protection played an important role in the following government decisions. This study will explore the contemporary understanding of free speech and equal rights revealed through the controversy surrounding the protests against the initial showing of *The Birth of a Nation*.

Considering the prevalent racism in early twentieth century America, the overwhelmingly positive responses to *The Birth of a Nation* all over the country were to be expected. The film was acclaimed not only for its artistic achievement but for its realistic portrayal of American history. After a private preview in the White House, President Woodrow Wilson praised the film for being "like writing history in lightning." He added that the story of how the Klan had come to the rescue of the South was "all true."[5] Marveling at Griffith's technical skills, the *New York Commercial* called the film a "stupendous photographic spectacle" that demonstrated "war's futility and the trials and suffering inflicted by blind hatred."[6]

The *New York Journal* sounded like movie advertising as it urged parents to send their children to the movie: "[A]ny parent who neglects this advice is committing an educational offense, for no film has ever produced more educational points than Griffith's latest achievement."[7] The *Sacramento Bee* also praised the film for "the fidelity of the pictures to the things and people they represent and their historical accuracy."[8] A minister

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[5] Richard M. Abrams, *The Burdens of Progress* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1978), 12.

[6] *New York Commercial*, 6 March 1915.

[7] Schickel, 277.

[8] *The Sacramento Bee*, 20 March 1915.

claimed that he was willing to "swear on the Bible" that the story of *The Birth of a Nation* was true.[9]

The reactions in the South were more dramatic. Audiences were reported leaping, yelling, shrieking, and crying over the picture. The *Baltimore Sun* expressed surprise that Northern audience also cheered at Klan's riding to the rescue of the beleaguered whites.[10] The *Spartanburg*, South Carolina, *Herald*, hailed it as "the most remarkable picture" ever made, and the *Louisville Herald* found the film to be "splendidly educational and informative," taking one back to "the Old South in a manner unbelievably real and unforced."[11]

The southern newspapers took the occasion to justify the racial discrimination in the South. The *Atlanta Journal* reported that the film "does every credit to the negro race, lauds those faithful old black people whose fealty to their masters led them to dare the anger of mistaken fanatics, shows the true progress they have since made in industry and education."[12] Wondering why some people protested over the film, the *Atlanta Constitution* maintained that "the picture is vindicated by historical facts" and had nothing to do with "prejudices that have been dead long since."[13] The *Charlotte Observer* also wrote that it could see no reason for the objection that blacks were making about the film in

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[9] *New York American*, 5 March 1915, quoted in Schickel, 278.

[10] *The Baltimore Sun*, 14 March 1915.

[11] *Spartanburg Herald*, 22 October 1915; *The Louisville Herald*, 15 February 1916. Some Southerners, however, were cautioned their children not to tell that they saw the film lest it should offend blacks working in their farms. See John Hammond Moore, "South Carolina's Reaction to the Photoplay, *The Birth of a Nation*," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* 33 (1963): 30-40.

[12] *Atlanta Journal*, 7 December 1915, quoted in Silva, 31.

[13] *Atlanta Constitution*, 7 December 1915, quoted in *Ibid.*, 36.

the North.[14] The *Houston Chronicle* claimed that the film "will prove beneficial to the Negro race rather than harmful, and no Negro can seriously object to it."[15]

In the North, however, guarded concern over the racially prejudiced contents was expressed in the midst of artistic praises. The *New York Times* reported that "whatever one may think of the wisdom of dealing with the negro problem as badly as it is done in this picture, there can be no doubt of its excellence from a purely spectacular and pictorial viewpoint."[16] An industry magazine predicted that the film's "appeal to the imagination" would bring popular success despite "the undisguised appeal to race prejudices."[17]

Meanwhile, blacks and liberal whites exploded with outrage. Pointing out historical falsification in the film, the *New York Globe* called the film as "a cruel distortion of history."[18] The *Kansas City Times* accused the film of providing a prejudicial portrait of blacks, saying that the film pictured blacks "as wholly degraded and bestial, with unlimited possibilities of evil."[19] The most eloquent attack on racial bigotry came in the *Milwaukee Free Press*: "[I]n the very year when our black fellow citizens are straining every nerve to accomplish an adequate exposition of their progress during their brief half century of freedom, certain white men of southern blood are so lost to all considerations of humanity, civilization and national well-being as to set in motion a powerful argument in favor of

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[14] *Charlotte Observer*, 18 November 1915.

[15] *Negro Year Book: An Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1916-1917*, Monroe N. Work ed. (Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: The Negro Year Book Publishing Company, 1916-17), 47.

[16] *New York Times*, 14 March 1915.

[17] W. Stephen Bush, *Moving Picture World* 23 (March 13, 1915), 1586-87, quoted in Silva, 27-28.

[18] *New York Globe*, 16 April 1915.

[19] *Negro Year Book, 1916-1917*, 47.

considering the negro a primitive brute, amenable only to threat and violence."[20] At least one white Southern newspaper condemned the film. The *Independent* of Elizabeth City, North Carolina, said that the film was "a cruel slander of a weak and helpless race. It is a cowardly attack upon a people who are not strong enough to hit back."[21]

Eugene V. Debs, the four-time Socialist party candidate for president, wrote in the *Terre Haute*, Indiana, *Post* that the film insulted blacks and intensified racial prejudices. "For every white woman raped in the south by a black fiend," he said, "a thousand black women have been seduced and outraged by white gentlemen."[22] Progressive weeklies joined the ranks of protesters. *Outlook* condemned the film as denying "the power of development within the Negro" and exalting "race war."[23] According to the *New Republic*, the film "recklessly distorts Negro crimes, gives them a disproportionate place in life, and colors them dishonestly to inflame the ignorant and the credulous."[24] The annual report of the NAACP condemned the film for which "every resource of a magnificent new art has been employed with an undeniable attempt to picture Negroes in the worst possible light."[25]

In spite of the blatantly prejudicial portrayal of blacks in his film, however, Griffith was not an exceptionally extreme racist for that time. He simply glorified through the new mass medium the prevalent and deep-rooted racial prejudices of the late nineteenth and early

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[20] *The Milwaukee Free Press*, 11 March 1915.

[21] *Crisis* 11 (December 1915), 76.

[22] *Terre Haute Post*, 8 January 1916; *Negro Year Book, 1916-1917*, 47.

[23] *Outlook* 109 (April 14, 1915), 854.

[24] *New Republic* 2 (March 20, 1915), 185.

[25] *Completing the Work of the Emancipator: Six Years of Struggle toward Democracy in Race Relation*, The Sixth Annual Report of the NAACP (New York, 1915), 11.

twentieth centuries.[26] After the Supreme Court upheld the "separate but equal" doctrine in 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Southern whites had free reign to violate constitutional rights of black citizens guaranteed under the Civil War amendments. Blacks were relegated to a status that little differed from slavery. Lynching, segregation, and disenfranchisement became the fate of southern blacks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Political rhetoric, however, often concealed the cruel reality. The 1904 platform of the Republican party solemnly declared:

> We demand equal justice for all men, without regard to race or color, we declare once more, and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution which were designed for the protection and advancement of the Negro, and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone, as unfair, unAmerican and repugnant to the Supreme law of the land."[27]

But the Republicans, who largely remained in power in the period, did nothing to transform these noble words into action. After *Plessy v. Ferguson*, formal separation of races mushroomed. Segregated schools and transportation were accomplished facts in the South by 1900.[28] "White Only" signs appeared at theaters, boarding houses, toilets, and

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[26] Some film critics, however, continued to deny the presence of racial prejudice in the film or attempted to rescue Griffith from the opprobrium of being a racist. James Agee insisted that he saw "Griffith's absolute desire to be fair" to blacks as well as his "understanding, honesty, and compassion" in the film. James Agee, *Agee on Film* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1958), Vol. I, 313-18. Paul O'Dell insisted that "Griffith was certainly no racist and made the film in the knowledge that he was presenting a true and accurate picture in dramatic terms." *Silent Picture* (Autumn 1969): 18-20, quoted in *Focus on D. W. Griffith*, Harry M. Geduld ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 92.

[27] Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (London: Collier Books, 1969), 346.

[28] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 3rd Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), 553-55.

water fountains.[29] Frustrated at the inaction of the Republican party in protecting their constitutional rights, blacks reluctantly left the party of Abraham Lincoln and supported Democratic presidential candidate Woodrow Wilson in the 1912 election, who promised "absolute fair dealing and for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests" of blacks.[30] President Wilson, however, failed to keep his promise to promote racial equality. His order to tighten segregation of federal employees ended a fifty-year tradition of integrated civil service.[31]

Unsatisfied with social separation of blacks, Southern whites also sought to banish blacks from political arena. They maintained that the disenfranchisement of blacks was necessary to end corruption in elections. All Southern evils were blamed to black voters. Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina said: "The dismal experiment of universal negro suffrage" brought "rotten government built upon it and propped with bayonets," "robbery under the form of taxation," and "riot and debauchery in our legislative halls and in our Capitol . . . while rape, arson and murder stalked abroad in open daylight."[32] The results of disenfranchisement were remarkable. In Louisiana, 130,000 blacks were registered to vote in 1890, 5,000 in 1900 and only 1,342 in 1904. In 1900, Tillman boasted on the floor of the Senate that "we have done our best. We have scratched our heads to find out how we

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[29] C. Vann Woodward, *Origin of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1951), 211-12.

[30] Nancy J. Weiss, "The Negro and the New Freedom: Fighting Wilsonian Segregation," *Political Science Quarterly* 84 (1969), 63.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Mary Ellison, *The Black Experience: American Blacks Since 1865* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1974), 46.

could eliminate the last one of them. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it."[33]

Some blacks, however, were not lucky enough to be shot. They were burned alive by angry white mobs, who sought to stop the threat of the "black beast to white womanhood."[34] Lynching peaked between 1889 and 1898 when about 1,870 hangings were reported, four-fifths of which were in the South. About sixty-two percent of these victims were blacks. From 1901 through 1910, a total of 846 lynchings was reported, and almost ninety percent of the victims were blacks.[35] In 1916 ninety-four persons, fourteen of whom white, were lynched during 1915 and seventy-two in 1914.[36] Neither Congress nor presidents nor Supreme Court justices took decisive action to prevent the lynching of Negroes, which on one occasion brought out an audience of 10,000 well-dressed people to enjoy the spectacle.[37] Compared to this, the scene of *The Birth of a Nation* in which the Klan subdued blacks was rather benign. Under such a repression of terror, Southern

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[33] Sean D. Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 211.

[34] Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 117-51. Mississippi introduced the literacy test in 1890 that denied voting rights to those who were unable to read the Constitution and required a poll tax from prospective voters at registration. But ample discretionary power was given to registration officers not to exclude whites. In 1898 Louisiana introduced the so-called grandfather clause whereby only those who had a grandfather on the electoral roll of 1867 could vote, thus virtually excluding all freed blacks. See Paul H. Buck, "The Negro Problem Always Ye Have With You" in Henry N. Drewry and Cecilia H. Drewry ed. *Afro-American History: Past to Present* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 119-27.

[35] Logan, 349.

[36] *Crisis*, 11 (February 1916), 198-199. Because of loose definition of the term and insufficient collection of data, varied figures on lynching were filed. For instance, the Tuskegee Institute reported only sixty-nine lynchings in 1915 and fifty-five in 1914. Harry A. Ploski and Warren Marr, II, eds. *The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the Afro American* (New York: Bellwether, 1976), 276.

[37] Logan, 349.

blacks could not even think about expressing their disapproval of *The Birth of a Nation*. No mass protest against the film was reported in the South.

Life for blacks in the North, however, was little better than in the South. In many states, blacks were segregated at transportation facilities, restaurants, hotels, theaters and shops.[38] Blacks received lower salaries than whites working in the same job. Almost all the unions remained exclusively white because members disliked the willingness of black workers to provide cheap labor and cross picketlines when strikes took place. Such discrimination and antagonism exploded into race riots in Northern or Midwestern cities. Four major race riots occurred between 1900 and 1910: two in Springfield, Ohio, one in Greensburg, Indiana, and one in Springfield, Illinois.[39]

In order to remove racial discrimination in U.S. society, twenty-nine radical blacks met at Niagara Falls in August 1905 and issued a manifesto demanding "freedom of speech and criticism," "manhood suffrage," "the abolition of all caste distinctions based on race and colour," and "equal opportunity for employment."[40] Four years later, white liberals and moderate black leaders founded the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People (NAACP) to promote the equal rights of blacks. The organization demanded the abolition of segregation, equal education and enfranchisement for blacks,

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[38] Ellison, 53, 68, 71-72. As scared and frustrated blacks fled the South en masse, the black population increased rapidly in Northern cities. Some 200,000 Negroes migrated from the South and to the North and West, primarily to cities, between 1890 and 1910. The Negro populations of the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois increased some two and a half times between 1890 and 1910. See Gilbert Osofsky, "Come Out From Among Them: Negro Migration and Settlement, 1890-1914," in Melvin Drimmer ed., *Black History: A Reappraisal* (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 372-86.

[39] Ellison, 53, 68, 71-72.

[40] Ibid., 66, 75.

and the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.[41] The NAACP's protest against *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915 was its first major crusade against racism.

As soon as the NAACP was informed of the film's premiere in Los Angeles in February 1915, the Los Angeles branch asked the city's film censorship board to ban the film. NAACP leaders maintained that the film would stir up racial prejudice and lead to a breach of peace. But the Los Angeles censorship board denied the petition, and a district court issued an order that prohibited the Los Angeles NAACP from boycotting the film. The judge, expressing his personal disapproval of the film's content, advised the association to "wholly disregard this matter." Notifying its national office of their failure, the Los Angeles branch officials requested the national office to pressure the National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures (NBCMP) to revoke its approval of the film. The board, however, approved the film over the NAACP's protest.[42]

The NBCMP, the movie industry's self-regulatory body, was founded in 1909. Even though the board lacked legal authority, its voluntary agreements with theater owners assured that approximately eighty percent of the nation's theaters would not show a film rejected by the board. This self-censorship was designed to protect the industry from the frequent governmental censorship in the period.[43] Less than a decade after Thomas A. Edison introduced a commercial movie in New York City in 1894, nickelodeons had appeared in almost every city in the country. The motion picture offered a new form of

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[41] Franklin, 319.

[42] Thomas R. Cripps, "The Reaction of the Negro to the Motion Picture *Birth of a Nation*," *Historian* 25 (1963), 350-51; Fleener-Marzec, 110-111; *Crisis* 10 (May 1915), 33, 40.

[43] See Edward de Grazia and Roger K. Newman, *Banned Films: Movies, Censors and the First Amendment* (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1982), 10-13; Richard S. Randall, *Censorship of the Movies: The Social and Political Control of a Mass Medium* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 12.

entertainment to the young, immigrants, and the working class.[44] But the excessive commercialism and sensationalism of some movies raised concern in public officials and civic organizations, who regarded the motion picture as promoting immoral and antisocial behavior. Movies considered indecent, immoral or obscene were banned frequently, and theaters that showed such films were prosecuted for common law crimes such as breach of the public peace.

Laws aimed at movie regulation were passed in all levels of government. In November 1907, the Chicago City Council passed the nation's first motion picture censorship law, prohibiting "immoral or obscene" pictures and requiring the police department to issue a permit before any movie could be shown. In 1911, Pennsylvania established a state board of censors and issued permits only to movies that were "moral and proper." Ohio followed suit in 1913 and Kansas the following year.[45] The Illinois Supreme Court sanctioned the Chicago police department's ban of two action films, *James Boys* and *Night Riders* in 1909. The court said that both films are immoral because they portrayed "exhibitions of crime" and represented "nothing but malicious mischief, arson and murder."[46]

The federal government also banned certain films on the grounds that those films would incite racial disturbance. In 1912 Congress barred from interstate commerce "any film or other pictorial representation of any prize fight" intended for public exhibition.[47] The law was hastily passed after a black heavyweight champion had decisively beaten the white former champion. Supporters of the law maintained that such films might cause racial

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[44] See Russell Merritt, "Nickelodeon Theaters 1905-1914: Building an Audience for the Movies," in Tino Balio, ed., *The American Film Industry* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 59-79.

[45] Grazia and Newman, 183-84.

[46] Block v. City of Chicago, 87 N.E. 1011, 1016 (1909).

[47] 37 Stat. 240 (1912).

disturbances. In 1915, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the law as a legitimate exercise of the commerce power of Congress and affirmed the custom's refusal of entry into the United States of a film of boxing match between black and white boxer.[48] In 1914, *The Ordeal*, a movie about the Franco-Russian War, was banned in New York on the ground that the movie's content might offend German citizens.[49]

Meanwhile, the constitutionality of the movie censorship was upheld in the U.S. Supreme Court, eight days after the Los Angeles premiere of *The Birth of Nation.* In *Mutual Film Co. v. Industrial Commission of Ohio*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously held that motion pictures are a "business pure and simple, originated and conducted for profit," rejecting the film company's argument that motion pictures are a form of communication entitled to the protection by the Ohio constitution that guaranteed freedom of publication. The Court found that films were "capable of evil . . . because of their attractiveness and manner of exhibition."[50] Despite the common practice of censoring movies "with evil effects," few courts or government censorship boards supported the NAACP's attempts to ban *The Birth of a Nation.*

After the NBCMP in New York approved the film, the NAACP filed for an injunction in the court to stop the film's screening in New York City. It argued that a play upon which the film was based had been banned in Philadelphia because of reported violence in the audience. The court refused to stop the opening, however, on the ground that there had yet been no breach of peace.[51] The NAACP then pressured the mayor of

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[48] Weber v. Freed, 239 U.S. 325 (1915).

[49] Life Photo Film Corp. v. Bell, 90 Misc. 469 (N.Y. 1915).

[50] 236 U.S. 230 (1915), 244. It was not until 1952 that the Court in *Burstyn v. Wilson* said that the motion pictures are a significant medium for the communication of ideas. 343 U.S. 495 (1952).

[51] *The New York Post*, March 17, 1915.

New York City. The mayor forced Griffith to cut a number of offensive shots, such as flashes of white girls being attacked by Negroes and Lincoln's letter affirming that he did not believe in racial equality and endorsing the deportation of blacks to Africa.[52] Except for such minor changes, the NAACP's demand for a total ban of the film was rejected. The film soon broke attendance records in New York, drawing more than 825,000 in 1915.[53]

The next showdown took place in Boston. The protesters went to mayor, court and governor. The mayor of Boston claimed that he had no power to stop the film even though he disliked it.[54] Griffith, however, once again was forced to edit the film. A Boston City criminal court ordered him to cut a rape scene. In order to pacify the protesters Griffith also added a new scene showing "individual examples of negro progress" including Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois.[55]

Minor violence took place during the Boston protests. On April 17, two hundred police were called as a crowd of blacks barred from the theater attempted to purchase tickets. Eleven people were arrested. Two blacks who managed to get into the theater hurled an "acid bomb" and an egg at the screen.[56] Massachusetts Governor Walsh, responding to a crowd of several thousand protesters who had gathered in front of the state government building, promised to seek legislation to create a censorship board that would prevent the screening of *The Birth of a Nation* and all other plays that created racial or

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[52] *Crisis* 10 (May 1915), 33, 40-42.

[53] Robert Henderson, *D. W. Griffith: His Life and Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 160.

[54] *Boston Globe*, 13 April 1915.

[55] *Boston Journal*, 17 April 1915; *Boston Herald*, 21 April 1915.

[56] *Boston Globe*, 18 April 1915.

religious prejudice.[57] But the newly created Massachusetts Board of Censors found no reason to ban the film and allowed the theater to continue showing the film.[58]

Parts of the film were also cut in other cities. The Milwaukee board of censors ordered two scenes cut from the film. In Sacramento, California, a rape scene was eliminated. The San Francisco moving picture censor board also ordered a cut. In St. Paul, the city government revoked the license of a theater showing *The Birth of a Nation*, after the cuts ordered were not made.[59] In New Haven, Connecticut, the mayor ordered offensive scenes removed and secured a pass to every performance to make sure that none of the eliminated scenes slipped in on later nights.[60]

In some places, the NAACP succeeded in banning the film. The Kansas Board of Censors rejected the film altogether. In January 1916, the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the Ohio state censorship board's refusal to license the film. The Tacoma, Washington, film censorship ordinance that had banned obscene or immoral performances was amended to cover films "such as '*The Birth of a Nation*.'" The Wilmington, Delaware, city council also passed an ordinance that prohibited "any moving picture that is likely to provoke ill-feeling between the white and black races." In Minneapolis, the court upheld the mayor's right to revoke a license issued to *The Birth of a Nation* on the ground that the film incited race prejudice.[61] The film was also banned in Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Springfield, Massachusetts;

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[57] *Boston Herald*, 26 April, 22 May 1915.

[58] Ibid., 3 June 1915.

[59] Fleener-Marzec, 245, 247-249, 254.

[60] *Crisis* 11 (November 1915), 86.

[61] Fleener-Marzec, 96-97, 104-107, 329-330.

Gary and Terre Haute, Indiana; Newark, New Jersey; Memphis, Tennessee; Norristown, Pennsylvania; Lincoln, Nebraska; Stockton, California; and San Antonio, Texas.[62]

Attempts to ban *The Birth of a Nation*, however, failed more often than they succeeded. In most cases, the protesters could successfully pressure city officials or police to stop the film, but the courts reversed such decisions. None of the court's decisions, however, were based on free speech. In June 1915, an Illinois district court issued an injunction restraining the Chicago mayor and police chief from interfering with the film's showing. The judge said that the film should not be censored because "no race or nationality has greater right under the law than any other has." The same thing had happened in Pittsburgh and in Atlantic City, where the managers of theaters obtained temporary injunctions against the city officials who had forbidden the showing of the film. A judge in Atlantic City, said that because the protest against the film was political rather than moral, there was no legitimate reason for stopping the film.[63]

In Philadelphia, police stopped the film, but a trial judge found that the film in no way engendered or tended to excite racial or religious prejudice. The judge said "while some blacks might criticize it because of their temperament, their judgment should not be the rule as many spoken plays could be criticized by other races because of reflections on race and nationality."[64] In St. Louis, a court issued an injunction against the protesters on the ground that the film had been running at the theater for several weeks without incident.[65]

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[62] Ibid., 217, 243; *Negro Year Book, 1918-1919, 115; Crisis* 10 (October 1915), 295; *Crisis* 11 (January 1916), 142; *Cleveland News*, 28 September 1915; *Springfield News*, 3 June 1915.

[63] Fleener-Marzec, 112-114, 129-34; *Crisis* 10 (October 1915), 296; *Trenton Gazette* (N.J.), 24 July 1915.

[64] Fleener-Marzec, 114.

[65] Ibid., 118-19.

In Pittsburgh, a court also ordered the mayor, who had banned the film, to observe the decision of a state broad of censors that approved the film. In August 1915, an Oakland, California, judge ruled that local authorities did not have the power under that city's censorship ordinances to stop the film. In Des Moines, Iowa, a theater manager was arrested under an ordinance that forbade the exhibition of materials creating racial prejudice, but found not guilty in the court. The Providence, Rhode Island, police commissioner barred the film, but Griffith secured an injunction enjoining the police from interfering with the film.[66] In Charleston, West Virginia, and in San Francisco, the NAACP sought injunctions against the film but was rejected. The mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, and the Baltimore police board refused to censor the film.[67] *Crisis*, official monthly of the NAACP, reported in September 1915 that in spite of protests, the film was running in Sacramento, Spokane, Portland and Seattle without cutting any of the offensive scenes.[68]

Throughout 1915 and 1916, there were continuous hearings before mayors, state and city censorship boards, and courts where the NAACP had active local chapters. But their attempts largely failed to stop the film. No decision was made on free speech ground. Most censorship boards and courts simply found the film neither immoral nor offensive nor disruptive to the public peace and rejected the possibility that serious breach of the peace would be caused by the film. In fact, the protests against the film were mostly peaceful. Minor violence was reported in New York where a white man was arrested for throwing an egg at the screen.[69] Several blacks were charged with assault in Boston.[70] A somewhat

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[66] Fleener-Marzec, 114, 130-134, 186, 242; *Providence Journal*, 23 April 1915.

[67] Fleener-Marzec, 118-119, 130-34, 224-26, 240.

[68] *Crisis* 10 (September 1915), 245.

[69] *New York Post*, 15 April 1915.

[70] *Boston Globe*, 18 April 1915.

more violent demonstration against the film occurred in front of Philadelphia's Forest Theater in September 1915, where a melee involved 500 protesters and 150 police.[71] In most cases, however, the protesters sought legal actions or peacefully expressed their objections to the film.

As the NAACP's protests mounted, the film company countered with various promotion gimmicks for the film. Griffith sponsored advertisements in newspapers, giant billboards, souvenir programs, contests, bands, and parades including Klan-costumed figures.[72] Favorable comments were solicited from celebrities. Griffith boasted that he received "letters of the heartiest commendation from statesmen, writers, clergymen, artists, educators, and laymen."[73]

Griffith, son of a Confederate veteran, defended his film as a dramatization of historical truth. He maintained that he worked for a true and accurate assessment of the Civil War through his film.[74] Griffith intended to make the film truthful enough to teach the public "the history of our nation in a way that makes them know the priceless inheritance our fathers gave us through the sacrifice of civil war and reconstruction." He said that "all the work of writing, revising, collating, and reproducing will have been carefully attended by a corps of recognized experts, and you will have received a vivid and

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[71] *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 16 September 1915.

[72] Henderson, 60.

[73] *New York Globe*, 10 April 1915, quoted in Silva, 78.

[74] Griffith said in an interview: "As I studied the book [*The Clansman*], stronger and stronger came to work the traditions I had learned as a child, all that my father had told me. That sword I told you about became a flashing vision. Gradually came back to my memory the stories a cousin, one Thurston Griffith, had told me of the Ku Klux Klan, and that regional impulse that comes to all men from the earth where they had their being stirred potently at my imagination." Henry Stephen Gordon, "The Story of David Wark Griffith," *Photoplay Magazine* 10 (October 1916): 86-94, quoted in Silva, 57.

complete expression."[75] In order to ensure authenticity, Griffith sought expert advice from surviving veterans of the war, military advisers and history professors.[76] Convinced of the film's authenticity, Griffith offered $10,000 to the president of the NAACP, if he could point to any incident in the film that was "untrue."[77]

Griffith believed that his film was not prejudicial because it portrayed the faithful and devoted black characters in his film who "stayed with their former masters and were ready to give up their lives to protect" their old masters. Griffith saw the attack against his film as "an organized effort" to suppress a product, which he believed to be true "in every vital detail." (Ironically, the black characters in the film, except for extras, were played by white actors with their faces blackened.) The protesters were nothing but "publicity seekers," "fanatics," and "ill-minded censors and politicians who were playing for the Negro vote." He also charged that the protests were not to stop the movie but to encourage interracial marriage.[78]

While Griffith made and defended the film with a desire to return to the antebellum South, he made progressive arguments for free speech, insisting that the First Amendment should protect the motion picture as it did the printed press. He claimed that censorship undermined "the most valuable of all our liberties under the Constitution, which our fathers established for our guidance and our protection." Even though there was "liability after publication to the penalties of violating any law, such as the law forbidding obscenity, libel, and other matter legally unfit for publication," he insisted that no publication could be forbidden in advance. According to Griffith, "plays for adults should be censored only as

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[75] *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, 11 April 1915.

[76] "Facts about *The Birth of a Nation*," in *The Birth of a Nation* (New York: Epoch Production Corp., Undated Pamphlet).

[77] *Crisis* 10 (June 1915), 87.

[78] *New York Globe*, 10 April 1915, quoted in Silva, 77.

books, magazines, newspapers and stage plays are censored--by public opinion."[79] "Dramatic art," he said, "is practically impossible without the excitation of some degree of race or religious feeling." He could not be more libertarian: "One man's orthodoxy is another man's heterodoxy. One man's 'judgment' is another man's prejudice."[80]

Few seriously considered his arguments for free speech for movies in that times, however. There was no reported case in which Griffith or theater owners argued for their right to free speech. No government authority treated the controversy as an issue concerning freedom of speech. This was because the Court ruled in *Mutual Film Co. v. Industrial Commission of Ohio* that the motion pictures were excluded from First Amendment protection. In addition, constitutional protection of free speech was not as vigorously pursued then as it is right now. It was not until 192 that the Court applied the First Amendment to the states via the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[81] Before then, the First Amendment had not barred the state's police power to regulate certain expressions, such as sexually offensive books or motion pictures, in the interest of the citizen's health, safety, and moral well-being.[82]

As a result, no court turned down protesters' attempts to ban *The Birth of a Nation* on free speech grounds. The Minnesota Supreme Court, for instance, held that the mayor of Minneapolis had legitimate power to revoke licenses of the theaters that showed *The*

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[79] D.W. Griffith, "The Rise and Fall of Free Speech in American," Undated pamphlet, quoted in *Focus on D. W. Griffith*, Harry M. Geduld ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 43.

[80] *Philadelphia Telegram*, March 12, 1915; Griffth's letter to *Boston Journal*, 26 April 1915, quoted in Silva, 89-90.

[81] Gitlow v. United State, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

[82] *See* Margaret Blanchard, "Filling in the Void: Speech and Press in State Courts Prior to *Gitlow*," in *The First Amendment Reconsidered*, ed. Bill F. Chamberlin and Charlene J. Brown, 14-59.

Birth of a Nation in the interest of public welfare and peace.[83] On the other hand, the Illinois Supreme Court refused to reverse a lower court decision that had ordered the Chicago police to issue a permit to *The Birth of a Nation* on technical grounds.[84] In no case did the courts find unconstitutional or invalid the numerous censorship ordinances that prohibited immoral or offensive exhibition.

Meanwhile, leaders of the NAACP understood that their protests threatened a constitutional right that was vital to democracy and to the promotion of their cause. Du Bois, then editor of *Crisis*, confessed that the protest against the film was a contradiction for the NAACP that stood for "physical liberty, political liberty, and particularly liberty in artistic expression." But he justified the protests because the film was used deliberately to slander and vilify blacks. He reasoned: "There was no chance to reply. We had neither the money nor the influence. . . . We are aware now as then that it is dangerous to limit expression, and yet, without some limitations civilization could not endure."[85] Some leaders of the NAACP, however, opposed censorship of the film. They defended the individual's right to judge the film and advocated vigorous protest without suppression. But the NAACP, lacking funds with which to make propaganda films of its own as suggested by some of their leaders, adopted a strategy designed "to bring the sinister nature of this play to the attention of the public through the press" and to force threats to stop showing the film.[86]

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[83] Bainbridge v. Minneapolis, 131 Minn. 195 (1915).

[84] Epoch Producing Corp. v. Schuettler, 280 Ill. 310 (1917).

[85] Fleener-Marzec, 8.

[86] Charles Flint Kellog, *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Vol I (1909-1920)*, (Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1967), 143; Cripps, 360-61.

The NAACP's protests against the film in 1915 and 1916 succeeded in stopping the film only in several cities even though objections to the film in 1915 were intense enough to cause President Wilson to retract his initial praise.[87] Nonetheless, the NAACP proclaimed victory for its strategy, declaring that its protest forced so many cuts to be made in the film that it became "a mere succession of pictures, sometimes ridiculous in their inability to tell a coherent story." The organization was confident that no filmmaker would "make the mistake of choosing an iniquitous story as a medium for his genius, or as a quick method of accumulating a fortune."[88] But the declaration of victory was premature. As the organization had already admitted itself, the outcries against the film "helped to advertise the film" rather than turn the audiences away.[89] The continuing controversy, coupled with active promotion on the part of the producers of the film, served to sustain interest in the film around the country and added to Griffith's fame and fortune.

The failed attempt to censor the film was not because Americans were willing to protect racist speech under the First Amendment. Movie censorship on various grounds including racial disturbance was common in the early twentieth century. As the U.S. Supreme Court declared in 1915, the movie was not considered a form of expression protected by the First Amendment. Neither the First Amendment nor state constitutional protections for free speech were cited as grounds to reject the NAACP's attempt to ban the film. Even though Griffith often defended his film on free speech grounds, and some members of the NAACP recognized that their protests infringed Griffith's right to free speech, no government decisions were made on that basis.

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[87] Joseph P.Tumulty, Wilson's secretary, denied the President's endorsement of the film, saying that he has "at no time expressed his approbation of" the film. *Washington Herald*, 1 May 1915.

[88] *Crisis*, 10 (October 1915), 296.

[89] Ibid., 10 (June 1915), 69.

Despite the constitutionally approved practice of movie censorship, the NAACP could not stop the film that appealed to the hatred, fear and prejudice of white audiences and justified social and legal barriers to the equal rights of blacks. The artistically dramatized film struck a chord with the popular belief that blacks, unfit for self-government, should confine themselves to lower occupations. The financial success of *The Birth of a Nation* and the NAACP's failed attempts to censor the film reflected the depth of hostility and prejudice that most white Americans of the period felt toward blacks.

A quarter of century after the film's premier, Griffith finally expressed regret for his portrayal of blacks in the film. He said:

> Although the picture was made with no intention of embarrassing the Negro, as it stands today, it should not be shown to general audiences. It should be seen solely by film people and film students. The Negro race has had enough trouble, more than enough of its share of injustice, oppression, tragedy, suffering, and sorrow. And because of the social progress which Negroes have achieved in the face of these handicaps, it is best that *The Birth of a Nation* in its present form be withheld from public exhibition.[90]

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[90] *Collected papers of Barnet Bravermann*, The Museum of Modern Art Film Study Center, quoted in Silva, 8.

A Look at Factors Leading to the Murder of a Broadcast Journalist

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A Look at Factors Leading to the Murder
of a Broadcast Journalist

William (Bill) Haywood Mason is one of the few broadcast journalists to be killed on the job in the United States.[1] Mason broadcast his last program over KBKI radio in Alice, Texas, July 28, 1949, at 12:30 p.m. Less than 24 hours later, While a witness looked on, a deputy sheriff gunned Mason down on a street in Alice because Mason refused to stop broadcasting details about corruption in local government. Despite his martyr's death, little has been previously written about Mason. This paper attempts to fill a gap in the history of a broadcast martyr and to examine the factors which led to his death.

Mason is not mentioned in comprehensive mass media history texts such as *The Press and America* by Emery and Emery,[2] *Voices of a Nation* by Folkerts and Teeter,[3] *American Journalism* by Mott, [4]*The American Journalist* by Ghiglione,[5] *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States: Volume II 1933 - 1953* by Barnouw.[6] Mason's death is mentioned briefly in books describing Lyndon Johnson's first election to the U. S. Senate. Robert Caro devoted one line to Mason's death in *Means of Ascent*.[7] Dudley Lynch has a short chapter about Mason's broadcasts in *The Duke of Duval*[8] and Mary Kahl discusses Mason briefly in *Ballot Box 13*.[9]

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[1]See Leonard R. Sussman, "Dying (and Being Killed) on the Job: A Case Study of World Journalists, 1982-1989," *Journalism Quarterly*, Spring/Summer 1991, pp. 195-199. Also personal letter from Sussman, Freedom House, March 18, 1992, indicates his records show the first broadcaster to be murdered in the United States was Alan Berg, Denver radio talk-show host, June 19, 1984.

[2]Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988).

[3]Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter. *Voices of a Nation* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1989).

[4]Frank Luther Mott. *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1962).

[5]Loren Ghiglione. *The American Journalist Paradox of the Press* (Library of Congress in cooperation with the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1990).

[6]Erik Barnouw, *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States: Volume II-1933-1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[7]Robert A. Caro. *Means of Ascent* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) p. 187.

[8]Dudley Lynch, *The Duke of Duval* (Waco: Texian Press, 1976), pp. 60 - 64.

[9]Mary Kahl, *Ballot Box 13* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1983), p. 242.

Like many radio newsmen, Mason got his journalistic start working for newspapers. His columns in the *Alice Echo* from July - December 1948, newspaper accounts of his death and of the trial of his killer, one unpublished manuscript by a South Texas journalist and interviews with journalists and others who knew Mason in the 1940s are the primary sources for this study.

This paper will briefly describe Mason's journalistic career and discuss the unusual political and economic pressures in South Texas in the late 1940s, which allowed Mason more freedom as a broadcast journalist than as a print journalist and which eventually led to his death.

Big-city Journalist

While Mason was working as a radio commentator for a small Alice radio station at the time he was killed, Mason was no small-town journalist. He had worked for newspapers from coast to coast including the *New York Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He had also successfully directed the political campaign of President Miguel Aleman of Mexico in 1946.[10]

Mason was born in Duluth, Minn., in 1897.[11] He enlisted in the Army soon after his high school graduation in 1916 and served with the 135th Infantry overseas. He began his career as a reporter at the *Minneapolis Journal* in December 1919. He worked there as a police reporter and briefly as the city editor.[12]

Beginning in 1923 and for at least 10 years, Mason worked as a journalist in Oakland and San Francisco, Calif. [13] Described after his death as a crusading newsman, Mason had worked at the Hearst-owned *San Francisco Call-Bulletin* when Fremont Older, known as a top crusader, was the editor.

Mason also worked for the Hearst-owned *San Francisco Examiner* and *Oakland Post Enquirer* as well as for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the

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[10] *Detroit News*, July 30, 1949, p. 2 and "Bill Mason Pays with His Life To Close Up Texas Hall of Sin," *Editor and Publisher*, Aug. 6, 1949, p. 6.

[11] Mason obituary, the *Alice Echo*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.

[12] *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, July 30, 1949, p. 8

[13] *Editor and Publisher*, p. 6, reported Mason worked in San Francisco from 1923 - 1935. The *Alice Echo* reported Mason was in Detroit from 1933-1943.

Oakland Times.[14] Historian Marvin Olasky quotes William Salisbury in saying that many Pulitzer and Hearst-trained journalists felt they had a mission to

> set forth some new and wonderful truth of world-wide importance, in a manner to make the nations of the earth sit up and take notice--to cause the heart of humanity to throb and thrill. . .--a message in words that would enthuse and enthrall, gleam and glitter, dazzle and delight.[15]

Olasky adds that these journalists often tended to follow Pulitzer and Hearst in their "virulence."[16] A study of Mason's life indicates that he portrayed many of these characteristics.

Mason's obituary in the *San Francisco Chronicle* said Mason was a "leading light of the school of journalism prevalent in the late 1920s and early 30s . . . He was once city editor of the old *Oakland Tribune* and was remembered as the man who fired a staff member by throwing him through a plate glass window."[17]

The *Chronicle* also cited Mason as "an expert at taking up where the police left off" and credited him with "effective sleuthing" in several murder cases in the area.[18]

In his columns in the *Alice Echo* in 1948 Mason mentioned helping former U. S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren clean up Alameda County when Warren was the district attorney there in the 1920s.[19] The *San Francisco Chronicle* gave Mason credit for doing the "spade work which led Earl Warren . . . to smash an Oakland paving graft ring."[20]

Warren, however, in his memoirs, mentioned Mason only negatively. Warren wrote that he had told reporters off the record all he knew about one particular case. He said that Mason, then editor of the *San Francisco Examiner*'s Oakland edition, disclosed everything Warren had privately told

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[14] *San Francisco Examiner*, July 31, 1949, p. 23.
[15] Marvin Olasky, *Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism: A Narrative History* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991) p. 116.
[16] Ibid.
[17] *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 30, 1949, p. 3.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Bill Mason, "Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Nov. 3, 1948, p. 4.
[20] *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 3.

the journalists. Mason also endorsed his opponent for district attorney, Preston L. Higgins, and called Higgins the champion of full disclosure . . . ."[21]

Warren gave an unnamed journalist credit for helping him break up the paving-graft ring in two instances. Warren said a reporter talked a commissioner into asking for a grand jury hearing. (That commissioner was later indicted.) Warren himself went out on a limb during the hearing when the commissioner and others implicated refused to testify. In order to let the public know what was going on, Warren gave the press a daily transcript of the grand jury testimony. He argued that the law prohibited the jury but not the district attorney from revealing grand jury testimony.[22]

Also Warren wrote a journalist helped him find a witness needed to testify in the paving scandal. Oscar J. Jahnsen, an inspector in Warren's office, confirmed that journalist was Mason.[23] In exchange for getting the witness, Warren had to promise to let two reporters go with the police when the witness was picked up. Warren wrote he was told the newsmen hid on the floor when the witness was apprehended.[24]

Mason recounted the same incident in a column in the *Alice Echo* in November 1948. Mason said he wrote daily stories that helped send over 20 officials, including the sheriff and a city commissioner, to San Quentin as a result of the paving-scandal investigation.[25]

After Mason left San Francisco, he spent several years in Detroit where he worked for D.P. Brothers Ad Agency handling the General Motors account. He shifted to a Chicago advertising firm and then went back to Detroit to work for the Detroit Bureau of the *New York Times*.[26]

A Dallas friend of Mason's told of a different kind of investigative story Mason did while he was working for the *New York Times*. George Haddaway, publisher of an aviation magazine in Dallas, said he first met Mason when Mason was working in Detroit and was covering aviation. Haddaway helped

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[21]Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Chief Justice Earl Warren*. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 84-85.
[22]Ibid., p. 88.
[23]Oscar J. Jahnsen, "Enforcing the Law Against Gambling, Bootlegging, Graft, Fraud and Subversion, 1922-1942," pp. 82-92, in The Earl Warren Oral History Project, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.
[24]Warren, pp. 97-98.
[25]Mason, *Alice Echo*, Nov. 3, 1948, p. 4.
[26]*Alice Echo*, July 31, 1949, p. 1.

Mason develop a story revealing that pay toilets brought in more revenue to Dallas's Love Field than Braniff airlines. Mason loved that story and filed it, Haddaway said. "It was a big hit!"[27]

In 1941 Mason became public relations director for General Tire and Rubber Co. in Akron, Ohio. He was in Houston and in Waco, Texas, in 1944 and 1945 when the company opened large plants in those cities. He also went to Mexico for the company.[28] In Mexico he started his own public relations bureau and handled President Miguel Aleman's successful campaign for election. Mason later told *Houston Press* reporter Jim Carroll that after the victory, he had a disagreement with some of Aleman's lieutenants and was forced to leave Mexico hurriedly leaving most of his money behind. Mason told Carroll he stopped at the first job in Texas, on the copy desk of the *San Antonio Light* because he liked to eat.[29] He became managing editor of the *Alice Echo* in July 1948, weeks before the election that eventually sent Lyndon Johnson to the Senate. The *Echo* had a circulation of about 5,000 and had moved from being a weekly to a daily newspaper the year before.

The Land of Parr

The news media had paid little attention to the South Texas political empire of George B. Parr, "the Duke of Duval," until the 1948 election when Lyndon B. Johnson won a seat in the U. S. Senate by 87 votes from the amended election returns of Ballot Box 13 in Jim Wells County. Alice, population less than 16,000, was the county seat. Mason arrived there just in time to cover that election.

Parr was probably the best known of the many political bosses in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas stretching south and west from San Antonio to the Mexican border. Corpus Christi on the coast and Laredo and Brownsville along the Rio Grande River were the only cities of any size. The vast interior, referred to locally as "brush country," was thinly populated. Most of the inhabitants were Mexican immigrants. Many spoke no English, and only a few

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[27]Telephone interview with George Haddaway, Oct. 21, 1991.
[28]*Dallas Morning News*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.
[29]*Editor and Publisher*, p. 6.

could read and write. This made radio as a communications medium more powerful.

George B. Parr was actually the second "Duke of Duval," taking the reigns from his father, Archer Parr, who had controlled Duval County since 1912. George held in his grip a powerful political machine that could "deliver" the Democratic vote from several South Texas counties including Duval, Brooks and Jim Hogg counties and Jim Wells County until after World War II. He also had influence in Zapata, Webb and Starr counties through his alliances with other bosses. By 1948 when Mason arrived, a new party contested Parr candidates in 12 of the 13 precincts of Jim Wells County.[30]

The Mexican immigrants had little knowledge of how the political system worked in the U. S. The political bosses bought their votes in various ways ranging from cash to intimidation.[31]

Parr ruled with an iron fist. James M. Rowe, a reporter for the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* who covered that area of South Texas longest, said the average person could not begin to imagine what it was like to oppose Parr in the area he controlled:

> A word from him was sufficient to get a man fired from his job or denied welfare payments . . Merchants who opposed him faced the sudden loss of most of their trade.[32]

For example, Parr deputies blocked the driveway of a drive-in restaurant owned by two brothers who opposed him. Their customers were arrested on trumped-up charges of drunkenness. Parr told his supporters if they shopped at a grocery store owned by another opponent, they'd lose their county welfare checks. A mechanic who was a Parr foe lost most of his business when Parr warned his supporters their taxes would go up if they used the mechanic's service.[33]

In addition, there had been numerous other murders in the "Land of Parr" although most of them had not occurred in such an openly defiant way

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[30]Caro, p. 181-187.
[31]Caro, p. 182.
[32]James M. Rowe, "The Mesquite Pendergast: George B. Parr–Second Duke of Duval" (unpublished manuscript) LBJ Library, as quoted in Caro, p. 185.
[33]Lynch, p. 73.

as Mason's murder. Rowe quoted a Duval County doctor as saying that he had counted 103 suspicious deaths.[34]

Alice, the Jim Wells County seat, was 10 miles from San Diego, the Duval County seat. The *Alice Echo* went from a weekly to a daily newspaper in December 1947. At the same time the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* named Rowe to be a roving reporter in an area of South Texas Rowe described as about the size as the state of Massachusetts. Rowe's territory included Jim Wells and Duval Counties. Rowe said that until that time no daily paper had covered those counties on a regular basis.[35] This previous lack of media coverage was a factor which helped create the atmosphere which led to Mason's death. "Never before had the customs of that country been so boldly spotlighted," Houston reporter Carroll wrote after Mason's death.[36]

Small-town Journalist

Another factor working against Mason in Alice was that he was an "outsider." One of the co-owners of KBKI and Parr attorney, Ed Lloyd, said that "anyone not bred and born in the brush country is a stranger for many years." Lloyd added that he had been there 20 years and was still sometimes considered an outsider.[37]

As managing editor of the *Alice Echo*, outsider Mason let people in Alice get acquainted with him through the column, "Street Scene," he wrote in the *Echo*. The columns eventually got him in hot water with Parr supporters and with the *Echo* owner and publisher, V. D. Ringwald.

Mason wrote that he and his wife had moved to Alice because they thought life would be slower there and that perhaps he could work on a book. He said they liked Alice and hoped to live out the rest of their lives there.[38]Ringwald, the *Echo* owner, had a reputation for paying employees very little.[39]

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[34]Ibid., as quoted in Caro, p. 474.
[35]James Rowe, "LBJ's path to power began in Alice," *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, March 3, 1990, p. 10.
[36]Jim Carroll, "Bill Mason's Killing Arouses 'Parr Empire'," *Houston Press*, July 30, 1949, p. 2.
[37]Carroll, p. 2.
[38]Bill Mason, "Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Nov. 23, 1949, p. 4.
[39]Letter from William C. Barnard, former Chief of Bureau, Associated Press, Dallas, Oct. 8, 1991, to Mary Sparks.

An examination of Mason's page-one stories about Johnson's 1948 election shows the stories were factual and were similar to the coverage the big-city papers gave the events. His columns during his six-month stint at the *Echo* contained commentary but not gossip.

Mason mentioned the Ballot Box 13 episode only twice in his column, once writing that the big-city papers were running special stories on the "so-called political machines of South Texas,"[40] and another time describing the court room scene in Alice where hearings were being held regarding Ballot Box 13. "Yesterday, we were in the national news," he wrote.[41]

What got Mason in trouble was his scrutiny and criticism of local officials and conditions. Mason was more concerned about local elections than state or national ones.

In October 1948, Mason wrote that in the four months he'd been editor of the *Echo*, he had not been able to get any information from the police. "We should change the policemen or police chief or both," he wrote. That column included a "To be continued" tag line, but "Street Scene" did not appear in the next issue.[42] When it did reappear, it did not concern the Alice police force.

In early November Mason wrote that he'd had many calls wanting him to write about police brutality in Alice. He said he wanted to set the record straight.

"I am agin 'em when they are wrong. I'm for 'em when they are right. I'm agin 'em when they won't give me information."[43]

Mason expressed dismay that the various political factions in Alice would not talk out their problems. He said he'd like to be present when they did so. "If Alice is going to get anywhere as a thriving city, hatchets must be buried, and we don't mean in anyone's back," he wrote in one column.[44]

Mason probably worked harder and for less money in Alice than anywhere else. During much of his six-months tenure as *Echo* editor, he even served as the sports editor. He spelled his name backwards and identified the sports editor as Lib Nosam. Nosam even did the play-by-play at some of the Alice High football games that fall. But the local team did not have a good

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[40]Mason, "Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Sept. 3, 1948, p. 4.
[41]Ibid., Sept. 3, 1948, p. 4.
[42]Ibid., Oct. 29, 1948, p. 4.
[43]Ibid., Nov. 8, 1948, p. 4.
[44]Ibid., Nov. 5, 1948, p.4.

season, and on one occasion after Nosam had said in a sports column that the Coyotes were beaten by a better team, he reported his windows were broken.[45]

In his Nov. 19 "Street Scene" Mason wrote that he'd been told he was an outsider and a destructive force in Alice and that he had no business criticizing city officials or the police or the football team.

"I will try to be a good boy," he wrote," but I will go right on printing what I think is news."[46]

But there were no more columns on controversial topics. According to one writer, Ringwald, the owner and publisher of the *Echo*, adopted a more neutral editorial policy after pro-Parr sheriff's deputies assaulted him on the street. "I have a wife and small children," Ringwald explained. [47] Mason's "Street Scene" columns became much blander after the middle of November 1948.

On Dec. 8 Mason wrote that he knew his recent columns had been "sub standard" and said he had not been feeling well. "I thought I was going to give birth to an idea, but it didn't happen."[48]

Mason wrote Dec. 23 was his 29th anniversary in the newspaper business. He said he had learned to be fair to all, to do good if he could but that he must publish the truth even if it hurt someone.

"If I can't follow that creed, I leave," he wrote. "Last night we learned we could not follow that creed here. We are all right as long as we do not tread on certain toes. We have. We can't print anything which steps on those toes . . . We are leaving."[49]

His last column in the *Echo* appeared on Dec. 24, 1948. Mason wrote that he was moving to San Antonio.[50] But a surprising thing happened. Radio station KBKI in Alice, owned by Parr supporters, hired Mason.

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[45]Ibid., Nov. 15, 1948, p. 4.
[46] Ibid., Nov. 19, 1948, p. 4.
[47]Gordon Schendel, "Something Is Rotten in the State of Texas," *Colliers*, June 9, 1951, p. 70
[48]Mason, "Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Dec. 8, 1948, p. 4.
[49] Ibid., Dec. 23, 1948, p. 4.
[50]Ibid., Dec. 24, 1948, p. 4.

Two newspapers had competed in Alice for decades, but KBKI, 1070 on the AM dial, was the first Alice radio station. It went on the air in 1947 with 1,000 watts of power.[51] Surveys done in the 1940s showed that more Americans were turning to radio for news.[52] The new medium, the high rate of illiteracy in the area and the popularity of Mason's radio program all undoubtedly contributed to his murder.

Mason began his radio program, "Bill Mason Speaks," on KBKI, Jan. 1, 1949. His obituary indicated he was also the program director. [53] His son Burton even had a separate program, "Duval Doins'." [54] Parr supporters also owned the *Echo*'s competitor, the weekly *Alice News*, and Mason was a friend of the editor.[55] Why Parr supporters hired Mason remains a mystery. One explanation is that Parr bought the support of many Mexican Americans, and perhaps he thought he could control Mason better if Mason was on his pay roll.

"Bill Mason Speaks" was an immediate success on KBKI. Rowe said that Mason made fun of Parr's friends and foes and that almost everyone within the 150-mile radius of Alice listened to Mason's mid-day broadcasts to see who or what Mason would crusade against next.[56]

Parr forces had intimidated Ringwald so he kept tight reigns on Mason at the *Alice Echo*. But KBKI was owned by Parr supporters who were powerful enough to stand criticism. Mason said what he wanted on KBKI despite numerous anonymous threats.[57] This strange economic and political situation gave Mason more freedom on the air than in print.

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51 Telephone interview with Mike Smith, General Manager of KDSI, Alice, Texas, formerly KBKI, March 23, 1992.

52 Mott, p. 793.

53 *Dallas Morning News*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.

54 *Alice Echo*, July 31, 1949, p. 1

55 Personal interview with Barton Dailey, Alice, Texas, Oct. 6, 1991.

56 Rowe, "The Mesquite Pendergast," p. 41.

57 *Alice Echo*, July 31, 1949, p. 1

Rowe wrote that Mason's broadcasts were a mix of straight news and highly opinionated comment.[58] Mason's topics on Alice radio included traffic safety, proper garbage disposal, care of vacant lots and sanitation at meat plants. He also aired much criticism of the sheriff's department.[59]

When Mason made mistakes on KBKI, he admitted them. He once charged corruption in the construction of a water and sewer line in Duval County. The engineer on the project heard about it and went to Mason to complain. The engineer described Mason as meek and apologetic. Mason said his son had done that reporting and Mason had aired it without checking the facts. Mason apologized on the air to the engineer.[60]

In March 1949, after several broadcasts criticizing the sheriff's office, Jim Wells County Sheriff Hubert Sain and Deputy Charles Brand called Mason out of a bowling alley and gave Mason what he termed a "token beating." Brand pleaded guilty to simple assault and paid a $5 fine. During the scuffle, Mason's pants came off. Mason hung his pants on a pole downtown in a show of defiance and said if anyone wanted to fight him, they should meet him under his pants.[61]

"Deadline of Hot Lead"

The beating did not deter Mason's crusading. During his career, he had covered many stories which angered government officials and that fact may have lulled him into a false sense of security in Alice. That summer Mason learned that another deputy, Sam Smithwick, owned the land where a tavern and dance hall stood which was a cover for prostitution and gambling. For a week Mason gave details on his radio program charging not only that Smithwick owned the land, but that he was getting a cut from the profits.

The complete text of Mason's last broadcast was printed in the *Houston Press* the day after Mason's death:

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58 Rowe, "The Mesquite Pendergast," p. 40.

59 *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, July 30, 1949, p. 1. Also see Lynch, p. 60.

60 Lynch, pp. 60-61.

61 *San Francisco Examiner*, July 31, 1949, p. 23. Schendel, p. 71, reported that Mason ran his pants up the flag pole at the radio station.

I'm going to take the gloves off today in the prostitute situation and start swinging. . . . I have been told by my friends sometimes that I shouldn't pick on hungry Hubert Sain (sheriff of Jim Wells County). Maybe I shouldn't but a situation exists in Alice which he alone is in position to stamp out.

Any of you can spend an hour on the south side and see the suffering and misery which is being caused by operation of the dance hall girls. Dance hall girls who work, many of them on the property of Sam Smithwick, a deputy of Hubert Sain's.

There are nightly violations of the liquor control law. The officers of that state department have more to do than watch Jim Wells County all the time.

But it is the sworn duty of the sheriff to see that the state laws are enforced. But there on Deputy Smithwick's property every night the world's oldest profession is plying its trade, heaping dollars into the pockets of the proprietor of the place.

I charge here today that Sam Smithwick knows what is going on. He is out there all the time at night. I charge that the taxpayers in Jim Wells county are paying wages to a man who is permitting the spreading of vile diseases, [diseases] that are disrupting homes, endangering the lives of children, yet unborn. I charge that hungry Hubert Sain knows about these things.

I charge him with dereliction of duty, malfeasance in office, with permitting the ingress of 50 girls to take from the men of Alice, during the cotton picking, money which should go to the families of these men.

I charge him with permitting it and not lifting a hand to stop it but looking back over his score, what thing has he done besides sending another deputy to tear my pants off and try to scare me out of town. There is only one course open to you people who want a decent town.

Insist that this thing be stopped. You must move concertedly. You may file a recall for impeachment proceedings. I am not too familiar with the law, but there is some way of getting rid of him. Or we can ask a special session of the grand jury and let them go into it.

Or we can ask the federal government to come in and look over those incomes. Those courses are open.

I say these things knowing that I am stepping on the toes of men who are making fortunes while they foster this cancer, men who will not stop to keep their monetary gain.

I have been threatened over the phone this morning. The word has been passed to me that I'd better shut up. This is my answer. This is my challenge.

As long as a situation like this is permitted to continue, I shall blast every time a new fact comes to my attention.

Every time I dig up another bit of dirty, filthy practice which is permitted by the sheriff of this county.[62]

62"What Mason Said In Last Broadcast," *Houston Press*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.

Less than 24 hours later, Mason was killed. Deputy Smithwick, who spoke English but could neither read nor write it, pulled Mason over on an Alice street the next morning and shot him with a .45 caliber hand gun.[63] Rowe reported that Smithwick, half Anglo, half Spanish, had been told that morning that Mason was going to mention one of Smithwick's children in connection with the dance hall. Mason misjudged the Latin temperament. Rowe wrote, "The average Anglo when provoked resorts to his fists. The same provocation may lead a Latin to kill."[64] In an area where there had been little past media coverage of controversial issues, the rumor mill ran rampant. Carroll wrote, "The chances are that smooth, talented Bill Mason never realized that the Southwest Texas 'political' gun he was challenging was loaded until that slug hit his chest."[65]

While Mason's murder has been mentioned when George Parr's other political activities are discussed, no one has suggested that Parr told Smithwick to kill Mason. But Parr's influence created the atmosphere in the area in which Smithwick lived, so that Smithwick probably never expected to go to prison.[66]

One of Parr's friends said Parr cursed at hearing of Mason's death. He said if he'd wanted Mason silenced, he would have fired him from the radio station.[67] Parr probably realized that Mason's murder would make him a martyr and would bring closer media scrutiny to South Texas.

Hundreds attended Mason's funeral at the First Presbyterian Church in Alice on Aug. 1, 1949. By some accounts it was the largest ever held in Alice. Some stood outside looking in at the windows.[68] Mason was buried in an Alice cemetery not far from Smithwick's "dance hall."

On the day of the funeral KBKI devoted Mason's 12:30 p.m. program time to him. The *Echo* reported that the program included a brief sketch of Mason's journalistic accomplishments and other activities. Mason's favorite poem was rendered in song. The rest of the time was observed as a silent tribute.[69]

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[63]Rowe, "The Mesquite Pendergast," p. 41-42.
[64]Ibid. Also, Rowe said the source of the information or whether or not it was true was never established.
[65]Carroll, July 30, 1949, p. 1.
[66]Lynch, p. 63.
[67]Lynch, p. 61.
[68]Dallas Morning News, Aug. 1, 1949, p. 1. Also Dailey interview.
[69]*Alice Echo*, Aug. 1, 1949, p. 1.

Mason's 22-year-old son Burt wanted to continue his father's program, but KBKI officials said no. Burt did broadcast from Corpus Christi station KWBU for short time after his father's death.[70]

Mason's murder ran on the front page of newspapers from coast to coast. The *Echo* ran an editorial headlined "A Courageous Man Dies."

"Mason's life story was one of crusading for one thing or another in the field of business or in the field of ideas," the *Echo* editorial, probably written by the editor Curtis Vinson, a former *Dallas Morning News* staffer, said.

"Mason was a vigorous character. There was nothing passive about him. . . . But few men unarmed as he was when he was shot down have ever proven invincible against the deadlines of hot lead.

". . . Bill's death came in the line of duty--his duty as he saw it. There can be no finer tribute to any man."[71]

Smithwick turned himself in. Parr might have been able to determine the outcome of the trial had the district judge Lorenz Broeter, a long-time Parr supporter, not developed cancer. By Texas law the judge appointed the jury commissioner that appointed the grand jury. Parr told Broeter whom to appoint as district judge in his place, but Broeter defied Parr and chose his own man for the position, a man who owed no allegiance to Parr.[72]

Years later Luis Salas, the man responsible for certifying the ballots in Ballot Box 13 in 1948, said that Parr told him he could not help Smithwick because Sam had killed an Anglo. Salas, who identified himself as the "right hand of George B. Parr in Jim Wells County" for "ten years of violence, crime and killings due to the ambition of crooked politicians,"[73] told a reporter decades later, "I asked him (Parr) if the victim had been a Mexican could he do something? Parr said he thought he could because an Anglo and a Mexican were two different things. That was enough for me. I was through with Parr from then on." [74]

The new judge moved the trial to Bell County, Texas, on a change of venue. It took six days to seat a jury for the trial in January, 1950. The courtroom overflowed with spectators who often cheered Bell County

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[70]*Alice, Echo*, Aug. 3, 1949, p. 1

[71]Alice Echo, Aug. 1, 1949, p. 2.

[72]Lynch, p. 63.

[73]Luis Salas, "Box 13," unpublished manuscript, p. 32-33, as quoted in Caro, p. 189.

[74]Kahl, p. 243.

prosecutor, James Evetts. A gunman fired at Evetts as he put his car in the garage one evening during the height of the trial.[75]

Smithwick's lawyers tried to prove Mason's radio broadcasts were inflamatory. Statements such as the following, said by defense lawyers to be taken from Mason's broadcast scripts, were read into the trial record in an attempt to show what had enraged Smithwick:

> "There on Deputy Smithwick's property every night the world's oldest profession is plying its trade. I charge here that Smithwick knows what is going on. The taxpayers of Jim Wells County are paying wages to a man who is permitting the spreading of vile diseases and is disrupting homes." [76]

The defense also claimed that Smithwick did not own the liquor license for the tavern. But the state proved he did own the land, and a former deputy testified that he had been paid $10 a week to deliver 70 percent of the profits of the tavern to Smithwick. Some young women, including a Smithwick niece, admitted they had met men at the tavern and danced and "dated" them in exchange for money.[77] The eyewitness to the crime sealed the guilty verdict.

Friends of Mason's in Alice requested a quote from Evetts charge to the jury be added to Mason's tombstone:

"He died because he had the nerve to tell the truth for a lot of little people."[78]

Smithwick, age 62, was sentenced to life in prison. After staying in prison several months, Smithwick wrote Coke Stevenson, the former governor of Texas, whom Lyndon Johnson defeated for the U. S. Senate in 1948, that he had information about Ballot Box 13 and asked Stevenson to visit him at the state prison if he was interested. Before Stevenson could get to the prison, however, Smithwick was dead. A towel was attached to the window bars and around his neck. He had slipped off his bed. Some guards and prisoners at the prison hinted that Smithwick had been murdered even though it appeared he committed suicide.[79]

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[75] *Dallas Morning News*, Jan. 25, 1950, p. 1.

[76] Ibid., Jan. 24, 1950, p. 1. The trial records are "missing" from both Belton County, Texas, and the Texas State Court of Appeals.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Dailey interview. The inscription on the tombstone is quoted in Kahl, Caro, Schendel.

[79] Caro, p. 385-386. Kahl, p. 243, said Smithwick's towel was tied to an upper bunk.

George Parr lasted until 1975 when he committed suicide rather than going to prison on income-tax evasion charges. He had pleaded guilty to similar charges in the 1930s and served some time in prison in El Reno, Okla. He had avoided prison in the 1950s when the U. S. Supreme Court reversed a mail fraud conviction against him. The Nixon White House managed to get charges against George to stick after George appeared on Nixon's "Enemies List."[80]

Conclusions

Like many other radio newsmen, Mason was first trained as a print journalist. He had covered many controversial stories as a journalist, so the "token beating" and threats in Alice didn't scare him. Even though he had been run out of Mexico by supporters of President Miguel Aleman, Mason still misjudged the Latin temperament and the small-town distrust of outsiders. The unusual political and economic conditions in South Texas gave him more freedom as a broadcaster than as editor of the local daily newspaper, and he had this freedom in a community not accustomed to media attention.

While there were two newspapers in Alice, Mason's murderer, half Anglo, half Spanish, could not read either of them. He could understand Mason's broadcasts on the relatively new radio station though, and they infuriated him. He believed Mason was going to disgrace his family further that day, so Smithwick silenced Mason permanently.

Many residents of Alice, Texas, today are still uncomfortable talking about Bill Mason. The current Alice newspaper publisher told this researcher recently that he is still sometimes reminded, "Remember what happened to Bill Mason."[81] During an interview in Alice with a friend of Mason's in October 1991, Mason's friend talked in hushed tones and changed the subject when the waitress or anyone else came to the table. He did not want Alice residents to know about whom he was talking.[82] The current general manager of what was once KBKI and is now KSDI, a Spanish station, said he was a young boy when Mason was killed. He said he didn't know any details about Mason and didn't want to know.[83]

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[80]Lynch, p. 116.

[81]Personal interview with Mike Scogin, publisher of the *Alice Echo-News*, Dec. 17, 1991.

[82] Dailey interview.

[83] Smith interview.

But a journalist killed because he was trying to inform his listeners about local corruption deserves to be remembered in journalism history. Much research about Mason's journalistic career remains to be done, but this paper is a first attempt to fill the gap in journalism history about this early broadcast crusader and martyr.

TIMOTHY H. O'SULLIVAN

HIS ROLE IN THE GREAT SURVEYS OF THE AMERICAN WEST

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Prior to the American Civil War, most explorations of the West were primarily geographic in purpose. They located and mapped important geographical features, such as rivers and mountains. The best routes for wagon trains, and later railroads, were thus located (Taft, 1938, p. 282; Adams, 1983, p. 6).

After the War, though, the purpose of official explorations changed. With the salient geographic features known, the objective then became the acquisition of more detailed geographic, geologic and ethnographic information about the West. Geologic knowledge was considered particularly important because of the possibility of finding valuable mineral resources. Ethnographic information also was sought because the United States Army was having to deal with Indians militarily (Taft, pp. 282-83). Private corporations interested in industrialization also wanted information about the Western lands (Coke, 1979, p. 4; Krauss, 1982, p. 318). Though various motives may have existed for post-war Western explorations, topographic and geologic surveying was one of the official reasons the federal government granted funding for the explorations (Krauss, p. 313).

The 1870s were years of considerable scientific as well as exploratory activity in the United States. Though much original research was conducted, the administration of scientific activities was left somewhat to chance. No one seemed to know what the government's role in furthering scientific knowledge should be. Lacking a clear-cut policy,

the government seemed to take the attitude that it should promote and fund the advancement of science. One of the ways it did this was to subsidize the great surveys of the American West (Bartlett, 1962, pp. 367, 373).

And most of the survey parties had photographers attached to them. The work of some of these photographers was considered quite successful, and the baptism of fire some of these men received photographing the Civil War under expeditionary conditions may have contributed to their success in the field (Taft, p. 283). The wet-collodion photography process posed considerable problems under the best of circumstances, and learning how to produce satisfactory results in war situations prepared photographers for the rigors of the West (Coke, p. 5).

In the winter of 1867 young Clarence King, a geologist, proposed to the federal government a survey across the entire West from the Sierra Nevada range on the California-Nevada border to the west slope of the Rocky Mountains. This survey was to be made in the region of the overland stage route and the right of way of the proposed transcontinental railroad and would examine the geology and natural history of the area. It was not known if coal, iron or other precious metals existed in the area, and King insisted that he, as a trained geologist, was the one to find out. He proposed to thoroughly study "the structure, topographical and geological, of the whole mountain system of western America from the Plains to the Pacific," and make a scien-

tific cross section of the fortieth parallel. King suggested a survey lasting three or four years (Bartlett, pp. 141-43).

King pointed out the serious gaps in existing knowledge about "the position and area of considerable mountain masses," not to mention the lack of topographical detail in the area. He proposed "a study and description of all the natural resources of the mountain country near the Central and Pacific railroads" and "the completion of a continuous geological section of the widest expansion of the great Cordilleran Mountain System." At the time, no authentic map displayed the continuous topography from California to the Great Plains. The survey was to be "a rapid exploration of a very great area, in which literally nothing but a few isolated details was know before." King intended to outline the broader features of the geology in unmapped, unstudied areas that he called *terra incognita* (King, 1878, pp. 1, 4).

The study of geological and geographical features, along with natural resources, was often mentioned in official documents relating to the proposed survey. King's orders included the charge to "examine all rock formations, mountain ranges, detrital plains, coal deposits, soils, minerals, ores, saline and alkaline deposits" (Bartlett, pp. 144, 146).

King appeared to see the potential in innovation, outfitting himself with the latest of scientific equipment, and one innovation that interested him was photography and its

documentary value in geological field work (pp. 152-54). Photography had early on become known for fidelity in the form of a truthful image, and accuracy was desired. In an 1855 publication, *Instructions to the Surveyors General of Public Lands of the United States*, the clerk of surveys said, "Hence in the execution of contracts for surveying public lands, there is every incentive to fidelity that can address itself either to the moral sense or to motives of private interest." In other words, information about the West should be obtained and brought back in as objective a was as possible (Fels, 1986, p. 1).

As a result, the decision was made to take along a photographer, and King selected Timothy H. O'Sullivan, a young man well-known for his photographic coverage of the Civil War (Bartlett, pp. 152-54). O'Sullivan was considered an exceptionally talented photographer and a fine wet-plate operator (Coke, p. 6).

A list of equipment requested by O'Sullivan for the expedition included glass plates for 8 x 10 inch and 9 x 12 inch cameras, a photographic tent, a stereoscopic camera, and most of the requisite chemicals for the wet-collodion process. Snyder notes the omission of collodion itself or its constituent components from the list (1981, p. 20). But since prepared collodion was by then commercially available, O'Sullivan may have planned to purchase it in San Francisco (Taft, p. 283).

Most of the glass plates ordered were of the larger 9 x 12 size, and it appears that most of O'Sullivan's western photographs were made with the larger size. O'Sullivan requested permission to personally supervise the construction of the camera, to be made by Anthony & Co. of New York. He wanted one light enough to be transported in the field, but one that was specially reinforced to take the punishment of field work (Snyder, 1981, pp. 19-20).

When the United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel took to the trail on July 3, 1867, two mules and an experienced packer were assigned to O'Sullivan for the transportation of his equipment (Samson, 1869, p. 466).

This was not the only means of transportation utilized by O'Sullivan, though. During the first field season he traveled by boat down the Truckee River to Pyramid Lake (p. 467), and on one occasion traveled in an ambulance drawn by four mules in order to photograph the great sand dunes south of the Carson Sink in Nevada. This enabled him to carry more water, needed for preparing and developing wet plates, so he could make more photographs of the area than he otherwise could have (p. 474).

King himself was rather interested in volcanology and the products of volcanic eruption (King, p. 3), so it is not surprising that a number of the photographs produced by O'Sullivan were of such scenes. Pyramid Lake and the Humboldt Sink area, in Nevada, are both volcanic in origin and

contain volcanic formations which O'Sullivan photographed (Bartlett, pp. 165-67). O'Sullivan seemed aware of his responsibility to produce scientific/topographical photography that would serve the needs of the survey, to document the landforms, rocks and vegetation, and to provide some indication of Indian life (Coke, p. 4). Many O'Sullivan photographs seem to convey an understanding of geological dynamics so it is possible that King taught the photographer some of the basic principles of the science (Dingus, 1982, p. 6).

The 1867 field season for the King survey was spent mostly in western Nevada. The expedition party sat out the winter of 1867-68 in the mining towns of Virginia City and Carson City, Nevada. During that time O'Sullivan descended into the mines to photograph the mining operations, lighting the scenes by burning magnesium wires, the first time such photographs were made below ground in the United States (Goetzmann, 1966, p. 442). For these photographs he used the stereo camera. (Snyder, 1981, p. 24).

During 1868 O'Sullivan photographed several mountain ranges in Nevada, including the Ruby Range canyons which were described as "among the most interesting places met with during the entire trip" (Samson, p. 473). The survey group also journeyed to the Great Shoshone Falls of the Snake River in southern Idaho where O'Sullivan made a number of views (Snyder, 1981, p. 25).

The penultimate field season O'Sullivan spent with the King survey was 1869. He did considerable work around the

Great Salt Lake region, including several mountain ranges, valleys and canyons in northern Utah (p. 25).

O'Sullivan spent part of 1870 in Central America on the Darien Expedition but in 1871 he was back in the American West on another survey party, and would spend several field seasons on that assignment (p. 114). The army was preparing in 1870 to mount a western expedition that would serve its own purposes. Rather than the geologic maps of the scientists, the army needed topographic maps that would show natural and man-made features, along with transportation routes in the West. No one else was producing maps suitable for the army, maps that would show "all natural objects, means of communication, artificial and economic features, the geologic and natural history branches being treated as incidental to the main purpose" (Bartlett, pp. 333-39).

Lt. George M. Wheeler, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, was placed in charge of this exploration and was informed that although topographic knowledge was the main object, he also was to obtain all the information he could about the physical features fo the country, Indians, mineral resources and geologic formations (pp. 333-39). His letter of instructions from the Chief of Engineers, dated March 23, 1871, said Wheeler was to explore:

> those portions of the United states territory, lying south of the Central Pacific Railroad, embracing parts of Eastern Nevada and Arizona.
>
> The main object of this exploration will be to obtain correct topographical knowledge of the country traversed by your parties, and to prepare accurate maps of that section. In making this the main object, it is

> at the same time intended that you ascertain as far as practicable everything relating to the physical features of the country, the numbers, and disposition of the Indians who may live in this section ... (Wheeler, 1872, p. 11).

The military aspect of the survey was made clear in the final report, which said:

> Its origin was the outgrowth of a permanent and legitimate want of the War Department for current topographic information of the vast area west of the Mississippi, within which constant military movements were and are required (Wheeler, 1875-1889, Vol. 1, p. 761).

Wheeler requested the photographic services of O'Sullivan, citing his extensive experience. Despite the avowed differences in the goals of the Wheeler survey, it seemed that O'Sullivan would do much the same sort of photography he had done for King. He was, however, to record Indians and more man-made features this time than before.

That Wheeler must have thought highly of O'Sullivan is indicated by the $150-a-month salary (later raised to $175 a month) paid the photographer (Snyder, 1981, pp. 27, 30). This was about what the college-educated geologists made on the King survey and was about four times the wage of a ranch hand in the West of that era. Also, the Wheeler survey spent one-tenth ($5,000) of the first-year appropriation for the entire group equipping O'Sullivan with a camera, lens and related supplies (Naef & Wood, 1975, p. 53).

The United States Geologic Survey West of the 100th Meridian set out in the spring of 1871 with O'Sullivan photographing mining districts in Nevada, true to the army's goal of recording man-made features of the area. But he

also photographed natural features in Death Valley and obtained some magnificent views during an ascent by boat of the Grand Canyon (Snyder, 1981, p. 27). Appropriately, the boat O'Sullivan commanded for this Colorado River trip was named *Picture* (Goetzmann, p. 475). The boat trip was rugged but O'Sullivan did his share of the rowing and pushing of the boat, and portaging and packing of equipment, in addition to his job of taking pictures (Wheeler, 1875, p. vi).

In 1872 O'Sullivan was back with the King survey because Wheeler didn't know if he was going to be funded that year, and King wanted O'Sullivan back if Wheeler would release him. Wheeler consented and O'Sullivan spent much of that season photographing along the railroad from Nevada to Utah, the bluffs and canyons along the Green River in northeastern Utah, and the Flaming Gorge in southwestern Wyoming (Snyder, 1981, p. 29). This was O'Sullivan's last field season with King.

O'Sullivan returned to the Wheeler survey in 1873, photographing mountains in New Mexico and Arizona, the eastern edge of the Grand Canyon, and the pueblo ruins of Canyon de Chelly. He also spent considerable time photographing the pueblo Indians of these two states, at last fulfilling the ethnographic mission of the expedition, and obtaining images of at least four different tribes and their homes and activities (Coke, p. 6).

Wheeler had enough confidence in O'Sullivan to place him in charge of side parties and teams that split from the

main group at times (Snyder, 1981, pp. 27, 30), indicting O'Sullivan was respected by his companions (Adams, p. 9) and that he had demonstrated leadership ability (Wheeler, 1875, p. vii). O'Sullivan also mediated disputes between civilians and soldiers when they arose (p. vii). Wheeler gave O'Sullivan another role by granting him authority to purchase field supplies for the group (Horan, 1966, pp. 254-55). Those who worked with O'Sullivan considered him "hard-working, trustworthy, capable, and independent" (Dingus, p. 99).

In July 1874 O'Sullivan traveled west for the last time, again with the Wheeler survey, working largely in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Again, he spent much of his time recording scenes of the Indians and their way of life. At the end of the field season, before heading back to Washington, O'Sullivan traveled alone to the Shoshone Falls in Idaho. He remained there several days photographing the falls, the last views he would ever make in the American West where he had spent seven seasons with the great exploration surveys (Snyder, 1981, p. 31).

O'Sullivan's employers were undoubtedly satisfied with his photography. At the end of the 1868 field season, King said, "Summing up this year's work, I may conscientiously say that it has been an entire success" (Horan, p. 169). King was speaking of the whole survey's work but O'Sullivan had to be included in this all-encompassing evaluation.

Wheeler also was pleased with O'Sullivan's work, saying at the end of the 1871 season that:

> In the hands of Mr. O'Sullivan, well-known in connection with his labors on the Fortieth Parallel Survey and Darien Expedition, a little less than three hundred negatives have been produced, illustrating the general appearance of the country, the mining districts, certain geological views, and a full and characteristic representation of that very grand and peculiar scenery, found only among the canyons of the Colorado, a more unique series has hardly been produced in this country (Wheeler, 1872, p. 25).

Following the 1872 field season Wheeler said:

> By dint of hard labor more than 400 negatives have been produced of scenery in every way unique and grand. The series illustrative of the section of country found in this wild and desolate region is fine and many geological views will be interesting and instructive (Snyder, 1981, p. 28).

There would have been even more views of the Grand Canyon river trip but many of the glass negatives were lost in transit to San Francisco at the end of the season (Bartlett, pp. 347-48).

Photography apparently was important to the Wheeler expedition, judging by the amount of time spent on it. While traveling up the Grand Canyon, O'Sullivan at times delayed progress in order to take photographs. He sometimes waited for hours for the right light and camped at spots where he would have a view for photography the next morning (Dingus, p. 11).

At various times between 1868 and 1876 O'Sullivan made prints of his Western negatives (Snyder, 1981, pp. 114-15). Many of the photographs from the first two years of the King survey were used only internally in the War Department and

for distribution to scientists and other interested parties. But eventually many prints from both the King and Wheeler expeditions appeared in annual and final reports of the surveys and in various public exhibitions (pp. 25, 37, 42). O'Sullivan photographs from the two surveys were displayed at the Vienna Exposition in 1873 and at America's Centennial Exposition in 1876 (Dingus, p. 60). The official reports published after the completion of each survey were done in huge, gold-toned, hand-tooled leather volumes, and each contained O'Sullivan pictures (Horan, pp. 172, 257).

One reason Wheeler wanted photographs of his expedition was for publicity purposes to dramatize his work in the West (Goetzmann, p. 470). The various Western surveys working in the 1870s competed with each other in producing lavish photographic collections for promotional uses. Wheeler distributed to interested parties three sets of survey photographs in an attempt to garner support for continued funding for his expedition (p. 479).

More than 15,000 large-plate views and more than 25,000 stereoscopic views eventually were printed from O'Sullivan's negatives of the Wheeler survey (Dingus, p. 14). Photography was useful for showing specific features of the West to those who could not travel to the actual sites. One of the main uses made of photography by the survey was obtaining an exciting visual record of what had been seen (p. 45) and O'Sullivan had most of the responsibility for this documentation.

That O'Sullivan's photographs were valuable to geologists is clear from the 1872 Wheeler expedition *Progress Report*. Wheeler himself said the photographs were useful to the departments of geology and natural history, and a geologist on the trip praised the opportunity the pictures afforded him to restudy a view. Photographs could provide "information about the detailed structure, relative size, and spatial relationships of the geological features" (Snyder, 1981, pp. 38, 41). O'Sullivan's survey photographs "were sharp and simply composed, with emphasis on the conveying of information." The terrain was seen and photographed in remarkably objective terms, with well-composed photographs proving useful to scientists (Coke, pp. 5-6). Photographs that were literal depictions of subjects, that provided a clear record, served the needs of the surveys (Adams, p. 6; Dingus, p. 60).

O'Sullivan used a technique to help estimate the dimensions of a scene being photographed by including a yardstick in a number of views of Inscription Rock and pueblo ruins (p. 97). He also wrote extensive captions to accompany his photographs in order to provide more information about the geological features, vegetation, wildlife, Indians or whatever else was depicted. One caption even compared the brick style in a ruin to the English bond style then in use in contemporary architecture (p. 102). These captions were often quoted or paraphrased by Wheeler in his final reports (pp. 98, 106).

Snyder says O'Sullivan's photographs are those of a documentarian and that they should be viewed in the context of Western American exploration photographs (1986, pp. 128, 131). That is, "the study of the land was as much a matter of practical necessity as it was a scientific enterprise" (p. 127), and that this study was a combination of "observation, speculation, and practical recommendation for land use in the future" (p. 128). O'Sullivan's job, then, was to "make informative pictures of certain kinds of things" (pp. 134, 136).

Therefore, O'Sullivan's orders and the context in which they were issued must be considered in evaluating his work. It is clear that both King and Wheeler planned from the first to use photography to illustrate the texts they expected to produce from the surveys (pp. 141-42, 146). When requesting that O'Sullivan be released from King's survey and added to his staff, Wheeler wrote "it is judged that his addition to the number of assistants will result in a valuable set of views illustrating the nature of the country" (p. 142). Photographs from the survey, then, were considered part of descriptive geology and O'Sullivan worked as an illustrator to depict the unusual and sometimes forbidding areas he saw. He accomplished this with considerable success and he clearly satisfied those who hired him (p. 148).

But while O'Sullivan's pictures reveal the nature of the interior, they also are pictorially interesting. They "are more than mere documents for a geological archive," and

are considered some of the best of all the photographs from the Western surveys (Goetzmann, p. 487). It is thought that "O'Sullivan was exhilarated by the land" and that he was "demonstrably affected by the esthetics of his surroundings." His photographs "reveal a love for the land" (Naef & Wood, pp. 61, 136). Adams considers O'Sullivan the greatest of the survey photographers "because he understood nature first as architecture." His goal was "exciting serenity"; he was an "artist/geologist, in love with light and rock" (p. 8). The Western survey photographs:

> served as visual, quantifiable facts *and* conveyed, in a more general way, a sense of grandeur, beauty, and cultural sovereignty over that uncharted area. By having its picture taken, this "virgin" land was now both mapped and made landscape, and thereby given an identity it did not previously possess (Klett et al., 1984, p. 46).

The quality of O'Sullivan's work has also been evaluated by other prominent landscape photographers. W.H. Jackson said, "I knew O'Sullivan quite well. He was one of the best of the government photographers" (Taft, p. 288). After viewing some of O'Sullivan's original prints, Ansel Adams observed, "A few of the photographs are extraordinary -- as fine as anything I have ever seen" (Newhall, B. & N., 1966, p. 5). Photography historians Beaumont and Nancy Newhall said, "O'Sullivan's work has a very important place in the history of the world's best photography" (p. 5).

In every regard Timothy O'Sullivan fulfilled the various roles assigned him during the Western explorations to which he devoted so many years. He left behind a legacy of

hundreds of views of the little-known West that suited the utilitarian needs of the scientists, pictures that were used by the score in the final reports of the expeditions. But O'Sullivan went beyond the role of mere illustrator of geological formations. He helped, in his own style, to establish the tradition of Western American landscape photography. O'Sullivan's style was not to show the wilderness as pretty or picturesque, but rather as awesome, breathtaking, or even, perhaps, terrifying at times. In this role O'Sullivan succeeded as well as he did in that of documentarian.

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TIMOTHY H. O'SULLIVAN

HIS ROLE IN THE GREAT SURVEYS OF THE AMERICAN WEST

Timothy H. O'Sullivan is well-known today for his photographic coverage of the American West while working on two government survey projects in the decade following the Civil War. In this work he helped to establish the tradition of Western American landscape photography, and the art photography community in particular claims him as one of their own. But beyond his photographic duties O'Sullivan performed several other roles on the expeditions. This paper examines the various aspects of Timothy O'Sullivan's Western survey career.

O'Sullivan proved particularly valuable to the expedition organizers because of his leadership abilities. He often was given the responsibility of commanding side parties that worked away from the main groups, and he had authority to purchase supplies for these groups and mediate disputes. He worked hard and was well-liked by others.

O'Sullivan's photographs were successful not only from an artistic standpoint but also as valuable scientific records. Survey leaders and scientists alike praised the usefulness of his views. His photographs were widely published and displayed, serving as an early form of mass communication about the American West.

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Fact or Fiction?

The Mystery of Magazine Content Quality in 1905

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Fact or Fiction?

The Mystery of Magazine Content Quality in 1905

By Louise Williams Hermanson

Old magazines are valuable resources for historians. Information in magazines was usually more lengthy, studied and detailed than in newspapers, and magazines lived or died by readers' acceptance or rejection. But anyone who has done historical research using publications understands that all is not accurate. Although reading old magazines is compellingly interesting and the stories convincing, the publications often lead researchers to Fischer's fallacies of factual verification and significance.

This study is part of the search for information about the reliability of information in old magazines. Eighteen magazines from 1905 were analyzed, and clues about accuracy and fact-checking were sought. The author identifies at least seven clues to reliability of information in magazines. They include: focus of magazine; bylines and titles; length of articles; use of photographs, maps and charts; readers' responses and critiques in other publications; circulation and length of publication.

Fact or Fiction?

The Mystery of Magazine Content Quality in 1905

By Louise W. Hermanson
University of South Alabama

Old magazines are excellent sources for historical data on trends, lifestyles and details about American life. Magazines are unique treasures for historians because hard copies covering numerous consecutive issues over long periods of time are frequently available. Information in magazines was usually more lengthy, studied and detailed than in newspapers, and magazines lived or died by readers' acceptance or rejection. Mott explains, "The general magazine's audience must perforce be a popular one, and even the specialized periodicals whose appeal is limited to particular classes are subject to the referendum and recall of an annual subscription campaign just as the general magazine is. Periodicals must keep very close to their public; they must catch the slightest nuances of popular taste."[1]

If Mott is correct, growth of magazines in American society reflects acceptance of the ideas presented in the publications. Magazines that did not reflect the interests of readers did not survive. Mott says , "(F)rom 1760 to 1774 there were only three magazines started (in America), the least unsuccessful of which was a nine months' wonder."[2] By the early 1900s, American magazines boasted large national circulations.[3] By 1920, at least a dozen magazines claimed

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1 Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines: 1741-1850. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 2.

2 Ibid, p. 26.

3 Nelson Chesman & Co.'s Rate Book for 1901 lists 16 magazines with circulations of more than 250,000. They are American Queen, Cosmopolitan, Delineator, Fashion World, Fashions, Gentlewoman, Home Queen, Ladies' World, McCall's, McClure's, Modes and Fabrics, Munsey's, Popular Fashions, Strand,

circulations of more than a million.[4] These mass circulation publications served as the precursor of the unifying elements in major network television of the 1960s. Like pre-cable network television, where everyone who watched TV at a given time saw one of three shows, high-circulation, general-interest magazines appealed to a national audience with a unified message. In the days of mega-circulations, such as the peaks reached by the Saturday Evening Post, Woman's Home Companion and Ladies' Home Journal in the 1940s and 50s, magazines sent messages about cultural and social standards into homes in all parts of the country.[5] Although there was no appointed time to view the message and readers could choose from articles in the publications, controversial articles and the works of certain writers attracted the interest of large numbers of people throughout the country. Newspapers served limited geographic areas, but subscribers and readers of mass circulation magazines were given a common national experience that could be shared at social occasions and with relatives and friends. Mott says, "This quality which the old magazines possess of holding the mirror up to human nature and popular movements is precious."[6]

Historians use magazines in a number of ways:

- To analyze agenda setting for specific time periods,
- To identify issues of social concern of the time,
- To evaluate messages accepted by the general population,

Ladies' Home Journal and Woman's Home Companion. Edward P. Remington's Newspaper Directory for 1901 lists 19 with circulations of more than 250,000. They are Cosmopolitan, Collier's Weekly, Delineator, Good Literature, Happy Hours, Hearth and Home, Hearthstone, Home Monthly, Home Visitor, Illustrated Companion, Ladies' Home Journal, Ladies' World, McClure's, Modes and Fabrics, Munsey's, People's Home Journal, Strand, Vickery's Fireside Visitor (known to report as combined circulation for a group of magazines) and Woman's Home Companion. The largest magazine circulation in either directory was for Ladies' Home Journal, which Chesman listed at 879,048 and Remington listed as 740,000. Magazines of the time and advertising agencies, which put out all of the directories, were known to inflate circulation figures, and the discrepancy in the figures points out a problem with using directories for accurate circulation figures before the Audit Bureau of Circulation began in 1914.

[4] Nelson Chesman & Co.'s Rate Book for 1921 lists the following as having more than a million in circulation: All Fiction Field, American Magazine, American Weekly Magazine, Collier's, Comfort, Cosmopolitan, Household, Ladies' Home Journal, Literary Digest, Saturday Evening Post, Woman's Home Companion and Woman's World.

[5] Theodore Peterson, Magazines of the Twentieth Century, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 445.

[6] Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, Volume II: 1850-1865, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. vii.

- To find clues about how people lived everyday lives,
- To study choices made by readers,
- To uncover information about available products and costs,
- To outline unifying or divisive trends across times and geographic lines,
- To provide specific information about those covered in the periodical's pages,
- To put facts from other sources in social context.

The introduction of independent advertising directories that listed periodicals and circulation figures made it evident publishers and advertisers recognized special target audiences as early as the 1880s.[7] The availability of a variety of periodicals directories published in the late part of the 19th and early part of the 20th century[8] makes specialized publications relatively easy to identify in what is normally extremely time-consuming, frequently serendipitous research. Magazine and journalism histories, such as Mott, Peterson, Wood, Wolseley and Emery can also provide information to help researchers identify specialized publications.[9] Printed material designed for specific audiences allows researchers to identify on-point information related to

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7 Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Democratic Experience, (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1973), pp. 148-150.

8 Boorstin lists the first extensive and impartial directory as that of George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory begun in 1869. Other annual directories include: S. M. Pettengill & Co.'s Advertiser's Hand-Book begun in 1869, Nelson Chesman & Co.'s Rate Book begun in 1874, N.W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals begun in 1880, Edwin Alden & Bro.'s American Newspaper Catalogue begun in 1882, Remington Brothers' Newspaper Manual begun in 1886, Lord & Thomas' Pocket Directory for 1890 (Library of Congress has only this edition and no other information could be found concerning dates published), Dauchy & Company's Newspaper Catalogue begun in 1890, Eureka Newspaper Guide begun in 1893, Lyman D. Morse's Advertiser's Handy Guide begun in 1894, E. P. Remington's Newspaper Directory begun in 1898 and Charles H. Fuller's Advertisers' Directory of Leading Newspapers begun in 1898. Another source for identifying magazines is A Guide to the Current Periodicals and Serials of the United States and Canada, compiled by Henry Ormal Severance, Librarian, University of Missouri, reportedly to assist librarians in purchasing periodicals. The Library of Congress has editions for 1907, 1909, 1914, 1920 and 1931.

9 Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines: 1741-1850, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930); A History of American Magazines, Volume II: 1850-1865, (1938); A History of American Magazines, Volume III: 1865-1885, (1938); A History of American Magazines, Volume IV: 1885-1905, (1957); American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960, 3rd. ed, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962); Theodore Peterson, Magazines of the Twentieth Century, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964); James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States, Second ed. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956); Roland E. Wolseley, The Changing Magazine, (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1973); Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984).

specific professions, issues and groups efficiently. Once magazines are identified, the Union List of Serials[10] helps researchers find copies of even obscure magazines targeted to small groups.

Social historians[11] find magazines particularly useful in their research. For example, the 1906 N.W. Ayer & Son's Newspaper Annual lists periodicals under 94 different headings with reported circulations from a few hundred up to 1,700,000.[12] All 45 states were represented, reflecting geographic diversity in magazine publishing philosophy. All of these publications accepted advertising and provide information about products available during the time as well as information in the editorial pages about issues and events of the time. The majority of the headings in Ayer deal with professions, but some target special groups and issues, such as commercial travelers, motorists, religious groups and philanthropic societies. Based on how most modern Americans envision the early 1900s, unusual listings appear, such as a matrimonial magazine called Climax published in Chicago with a circulation of 27,500[13] and the Lesbian Herald published in Maryland with a circulation of 500.[14] Also among the 1906 listings were 296 publications identified as for "colored" people.[15]

This diversity of specialization encourages a wealth of interesting research questions. For example, studying publications targeted for "colored" people could provide unique information about the lifestyles and literacy level of blacks. Such magazines could help identify advertisers that cared more about the color of money than the color of skin and provide information about how manufacturers perceived the needs of blacks during various periods in history.

But anyone who has done historical research using early publications understands that all is not accurate. Although reading old magazines is compellingly interesting and the stories convincing, the publications often lead researchers to Fischer's fallacies of factual verification and

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10 Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada, Third Edition, Five Vols., (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1965). Supplements are also available.

11 For a good outline of social historiography, see Peter N. Stearns, "Toward a Wider Vision: Trends in Social History," The Past Before Us, Ed. Michael Kammen (Ithica, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980) 205-230.

12 N.W. Ayer & Son's Newspaper Annual, (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son's, 1906), pp. 1046-1106.

13 Ibid, p. 1087.

14 Ibid, p. 1068.

15 Ibid, (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son's, 1906), pp. 1070-1073.

significance.[16] It is particularly difficult to evaluate the accuracy of information in early magazines and newspapers because the styles of reporting and writing revolved around a different standard. That standard called for frequently stating facts without any verification. Bias was deliberate.[17] Staffs were small, and editors usually depended on free lance writers, who may write one or two articles before disappearing into oblivion. In later years, some magazines established elaborate fact checking systems, such as that of the Reader's Digest, where each sentence is verified by a massive research department. That system was explained in a 1984 report.

> We have the most exacting research standards of any publishing company in the world. We are committed to accuracy, committed to the readers of every edition worldwide who trust the Reader's Digest. Our researchers help ensure that our readers can maintain their faith in The Digest, their belief in what we have printed.
>
> We recently published an article on Delaware. As with everything that is printed in The Digest -- from fillers to book condensations -- we carefully checked this article line by line with the best available sources and put our findings into a written report. From this research report, we've taken two pages marked with numbers of the sources that have verified the facts, the correction sheet and the source list to show you the meticulous care that goes into fact-checking *every* article in *every* edition of the Reader's Digest worldwide.[18]

Editors at the Digest say this is a long-standing practice at the magazine. In contrast John Gramling, research editor of the Saturday Evening Post since 1984, said his two-person research department depends mainly on the word of the writers, but they do verify things such as name spellings and easily verified information, such as who starred in a particular movie. The magazine once had a medical editor read articles, but they no longer do so, Gramling said. He said he thinks this has been the way material has always been handled and knows of no specific written fact-checking policy in the history of the magazine.[19]

Each publication has its own policy on fact checking, and those that do extensive verification of information sometimes take steps to let the reading public know in promotional

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16 David H. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 40-100.

17 Roland E. Wolseley, The Changing Magazine, (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1973), pp. 30-33.

18 Editorial Research at Reader's Digest, An Undated Report, (Pleasantville, N.Y.: Reader's Digest). (Emphasis in original.) The article in the report is dated December 1983.

19 Telephone interview with author November 25, 1991. Gramling said that four or five years ago the magazine ran another article by the same author who wrote the piece that resulting in the magazine losing the famous Curtis Publishing Company v. Butts libel case [388 U.S. 130 (1967)].

campaigns. But even elaborate fact-checking systems usually become invisible in the published product. Little is known about how information for early magazines was verified, and without evaluation of the internal structures that contribute to the contents of the publications, it is difficult to know how the contents of the publications fit into the social values of the time.[20]

Occasionally inaugural or early issues carry statements from publishers or editors discussing editorial policy and intentions. Other tidbits can be found in advertising sections where editorial philosophy, writers or article selection were touted to entice readers.[21] But editorial philosophies changed as editors changed, and new philosophies were seldom published. Some publications reprinted positive comments made in other publications about early issues,[22] giving some indication of what others thought about the magazines, but, of course, critical comments were not included. And some information exists through articles in other publications that analyze the contents or structure of magazines of specific time periods.[23] But all of these are difficult to find. Because of the difficulty in establishing reliability of editorial

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20 David Paul Nord, "Intellectual History, Social History, Cultural History . . . and Our History," 67:4 (1990): 645-648.

21 "Our Bazar," Harper's Bazar, (1867) 1: 2; "A Few Personal Comments on Good Housekeeping as It Appears to the World at Large," Good Housekeeping, (1885) 1: 26-30; "Editor's Portfolio," Good Housekeeping, (1885) 1: 23-28; "Scribner's Magazine: Published Monthly , with Illustrations," Scribner's Magazine, (1887) 1: 2-3; "McClure's Magazine Is Published Monthly with Illustrations," McClure's Magazine, (1893) 1: 94-96; "Biographical Notes To Accompany The 'Human Documents' Given In This Number," McClure's Magazine, (1893) 1: 18; "Everybody's Magazine," Everybody's Magazine, (1899) 1: Unnumbered page in Advertising Section).

22 "Newspaper Opinions of McClure's Magazine," McClure's Magazine, (1893) 1: 5-7; Advertisement, "The Words of the Press," The Cosmopolitan, (1886) 1: Inside Front Cover.

23 An eight-part series on magazine publishing was serendipitously found in Scribner's from March through October 1938. It included the following articles which discussed history, purpose, editorial philosophy, structure of magazine staff and other general information about magazines of the time. Jackson Edwards, "One Every Minute," Scribner's Magazine, (May) 103: 17-23, 102-103; William A. Lydgate, "Romantic Business," Scribner's Magazine, (September) 104: 17-21, 56-57; Harland Manchester, "The Farm Magazines," Scribner's Magazine, (October) 104: 25-29, 58-59; Harland Manchester, "True Stories," Scribner's Magazine, (August) 104: 25-29, 60; Henry F. Pringle, "Sex, Esq.," Scribner's Magazine, (March) 103: 33-39, 88; Henry F. Pringle, "High Hat," Scribner's Magazine, (July) 104: 17-21, 49; Ishbel Ross, "Geography, Inc.," Scribner's Magazine, (June) 103: 23-27, 57; Thomas H. Uzzell, "The Love Pulps," Scribner's Magazine, (April) 103: 36-41. The American Monthly Review of Reviews ran a regular series titled "The Periodicals Reviewed." And an occasional article about journalism would appear, such as the four-part series titled "Confessions of a Yellow Journalist: The Birth of the Modern Newspaper" that appeared with a note saying the author "is (a) well-known writer on one of New York's best known newspapers. His close relation with the journalism which he describes prevents his identity from being disclosed, but his story is correct in every detail and may be accepted as a life-like picture of the daily work of the 'yellow journalist.'" Public Opinion, (February 25, 1905) 38: 269-271 at 269. Other magazines critiqued of special series that appeared in competing magazines.

content in magazines, no material is available in the scholarly literature except in overall magazine histories. This study seeks to determine if the accuracy of information in magazines in the early part of the 20th century can be determined by comparing magazines. The basic research question was: What clues to the reliability of information in magazines can be identified through analysis of the pages of the magazines and comparing them with other magazines of the time?

Method

The goal was to identify magazines that made an impact on the lives of Americans in the first decade of the century. The first decade of the 20th century is known to be a time of social crusading by American journalists. It was also well into the shift from highly opinionated publication before the Civil War to those that reported facts and valued readers' trust.[24] The year 1905 was selected for this study because a number of influential magazines of great variety in content and endurance were being published. Twenty-five magazines published in 1905 were selected from Mott's lists of influential magazines for possible content analysis at the Library of Congress, the most likely location to have hard copies of old magazines in one location. Issues from April, August and December were selected for study to give a sketch of the year's offerings. Of the 25 targeted magazines, hard copies of 18 were available in the Library of Congress' holdings and were examined for the study.[25] All of the magazines covered general-interest issues of the time. Circulations ranged from National Geographic's estimated 3,900[26] to Saturday Evening Post's 727,892, which came from a detailed statement provided by the magazine's publishers.[27]

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24 Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), p. 311.

25 For weekly magazines, the second issue of the month was examined. The December issue for American Monthly Review of Reviews was not available, so only April and August were examined, and August issues of the Saturday Evening Post were also missing and therefore omitted from the study. December 1905 issues for Cosmopolitan were missing, and December 1904 issues were substituted.

26 Ayer, p. 108.

27 Ayer, p. 1047.

Thirteen subject or type categories were established for analysis, and each article in the editorial sections of the magazines was measured and placed into a category. No attempt was made to evaluate advertising except to look for clues about editorial philosophies. The categories included:

- Domestic News (current events in America)
- Foreign Events (events and issues exclusively related to foreign countries, including those on North and South America. Articles that discussed the interaction or impact of events in the foreign country with the United States were put in the Domestic News category.)
- Politics/Law
- Science/Medicine (includes geography, geology, astronomy, chemistry, agriculture and inventions)
- Religion/Philosophy
- Lifestyles (how people make decisions about and chose the way they live. Includes fashion and nutrition.)
- Fiction/Poetry
- Entertainment (music, art, theater and book reviews, information about entertainers)
- Education (schools, educational trends, how-to, purely informative)
- Sports (spectator, group and individual
- Humor
- Reader Responses (letters to the editor and brief articles designated as written by readers in response to items appearing in the magazines)
- Miscellaneous

In addition, the following clues about accuracy were identified and noted:

- Use of specific details in articles,
- Use of bylines and titles for writers,
- Lengths of articles,

- Number of articles per issue,
- Writing style,
- Use of maps and photographs,
- Publication of series,
- Circulation figures and increases,
- Specialization,
- Dates of publication,
- Readers' responses in letters.

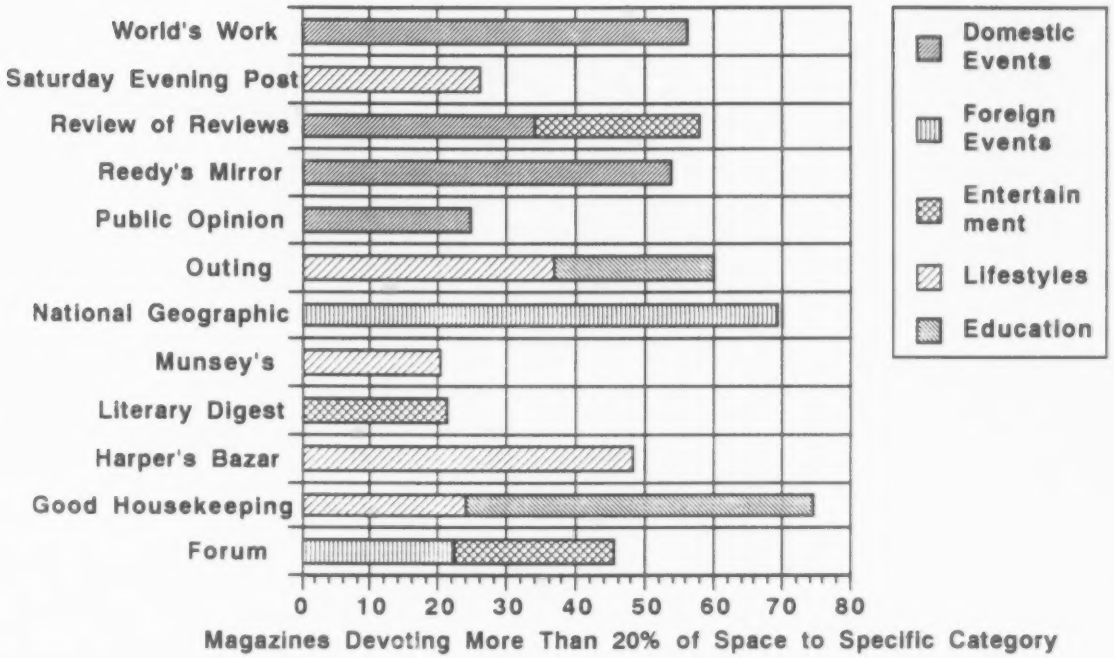
Results

During the examination of the 18 magazines from 1905, the following clues to the reliability of information in magazines emerged:

Focus of Magazine -- Magazines that have a high focus on certain types of information were considered to be more likely to be accurate in reporting on events in those areas. Magazines that devoted at least 20 percent of their space to a particular non-fiction category were considered to most likely sources for reliable information about the topics (See Figure 1).

Specificity -- As the editorial content was examined, it became obvious some magazines provided more specific information than others, and based on current accepted standards of journalistic practice, it would follow that the overall portrait of the event or issue can be considered more reliable in articles that give specific details than in those that do not provide supporting facts. This study found Public Opinion, National Geographic and Literary Digest gave full facts and figures to support their articles, and World's Work used official sources and specific information about wages, costs of living and sums of money mentioned as well as providing numerous illustrations and photographs. Review of Reviews gave solid facts, but few sources for those facts. Cosmopolitan and Good Housekeeping provided specific information but few sources for some articles, and in other articles few details and no sources. Both magazines were found to be heavy on instructional, how-to and general lifestyle articles. Outing consisted basically of personal reflections, writers telling of their impressions of things they had done, but this magazine also had

Figure 1



a number of how-to articles that contained details about enjoying out-door activities. Reedy's Mirror was gossipy in writing style and gave few sources.

The differences in editorial philosophy as stated by the publishers in early statements support the assumption more specifics reflect more reliability. Public Opinion's mission statement in 1886 said:

> It is the purpose of the managers of Public Opinion to present in one paper the views of many, to give each week the pith of prevailing thought, and, in short, to impartially reflect public opinion.
>
> Public Opinion will contain, in attractive form, printed and spoken opinions on leading questions, taken as they appear, without comment, and with due credit, from newspapers and periodicals, from organs of political parties, from the independent press, from the publications of various orders and associations, and the utterances of professional and public men -- thus focalizing many divergent views and opinions.
>
> Public Opinion will aim to be an epitome of American thought, in which the reader will find prepared and arranged for instant perusal and examination the most important comments and expressions on the foremost topics of the day. They will appear without bias toward any political party, commercial enterprise, religious sect, or contending influences. Recourse will also be had to papers in this country printed in foreign languages, and to European publications, for matters of opinion therein.

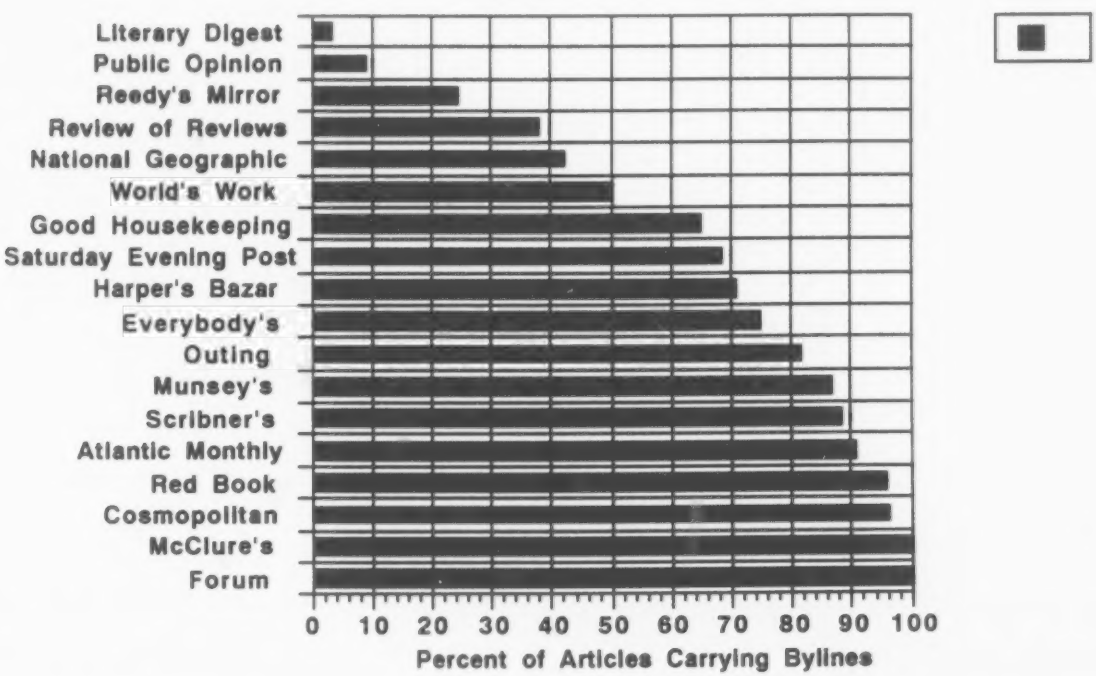
Public Opinion, in brief, is designed to be the one medium through which will be given current and contemporaneous opinions on subjects commanding public attention, together with a carefully-prepared miscellany, a chronological record, and items of general ins special interest.

For the purpose set forth, and believing that the Capital of the Nation is the best point of observation, the Public Opinion Company will prosecute the enterprise with energy and persistence, confident that it will meet with public favor.[28]

William Marion Reedy said of his Mirror:

The most individual journal of comment and criticism in the west.
A paper of the "men without a party."
A paper that always"says things."
A weekly review of men and affairs.
A treasury of strong short stories and good poetry.
The best books ably reviewed and public characters pungently probed.
And, of course, a line, now and then, for the ladies.[29]

Figure 2



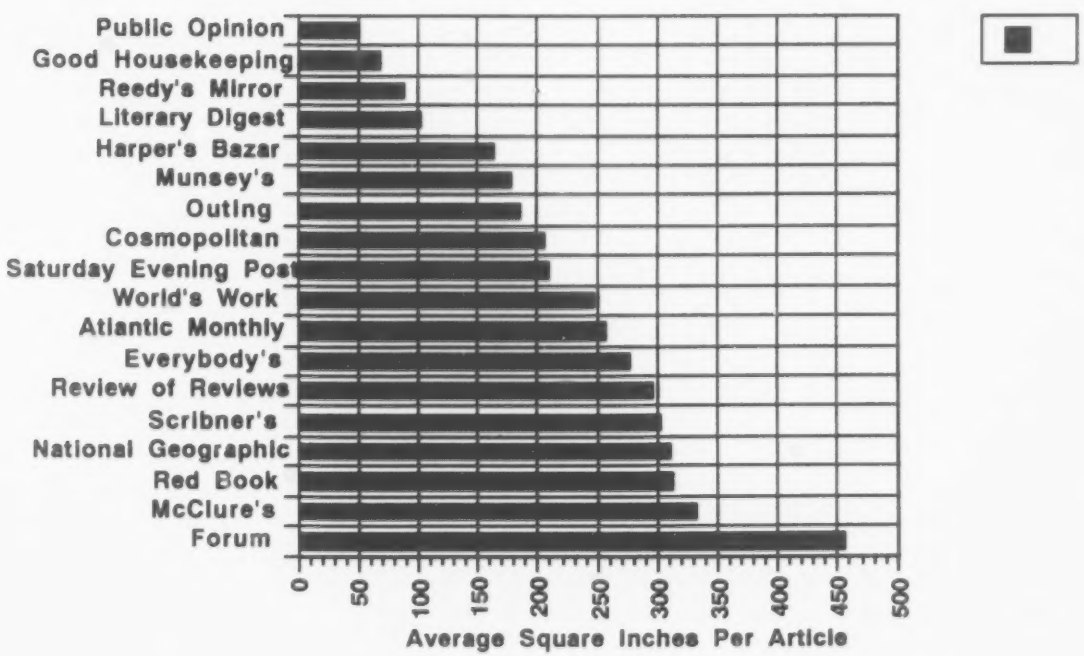
Bylines and Titles -- Of the 1,075 articles examined, 670, or 62.3 percent, carried bylines. It might be assumed that bylined articles were considered to be more reliable than those that did not carry bylines. However, the three magazines found to give the most specific details and

[28] Public Opinion, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 15, 1886, p.1.
[29] The Mirror Pamphlets, Vol. 2, No.1, September 1900, back cover.

sources for information, Public Opinion, National Geographic, Literary Digest and World's Work were in the lowest third of the publications examined when the percent of bylines is calculated (See Figure 2).

However, some magazines gave titles for authors for some articles, and this can be interpreted as giving the reader some indication of the reliability of the information in the particular article. When bylines were given in National Geographic, they almost always included some information about who the author was and why he was considered an appropriate person to provide the information.[30] Review of Reviews, frequently gave titles, and Forum gave titles on almost all bylined articles.

Figure 3



Length of Articles -- Logic says that longer articles will be better researched and therefore more accurate. Not only do they represent more attention by the writer, but limited staff would be

[30] It is interesting to note that 36.3 percent of the bylined articles were written by authors who could be identified as female.

more likely to consult (by letter) fewer writers. And editors would be more likely to devote larger percentages of their publications to writers they knew could be trusted to provide quality, useful material for readers. Therefore, the space devoted to articles was averaged as a refection of probable attention to accuracy in the publication (See Figure 3).

Types of Articles and Writing Style -- Articles that focused on current events and social issues were frequently more opinionated than articles analyzing trends or explaining how things worked. But the overall philosophy of the publication and use of specific details seemed to indicate more reliability than the category in which the articles fell. Several of the magazines devoted large percentages of the pages to fiction, which is said to reflect life but is unverifiable. Specialization seemed to reflect target audience more than accuracy. However,articles about current events were more likely to include more facts than articles about how people chose to live, and publications that focused on domestic news, foreign news, politics, law, science and medicine used more specific information than those that focused on other categories (See Figure 4).

Use of Photographs, Maps and Charts -- Although illustration was the most prevalent type of art used in the magazines, half-tone pictures were published in 12 of the magazines. National Geographic and Outing frequently used photographs to illustrate articles and provide accurate information about how people lived. National Geographic also frequently used detailed maps and charts to give the reader information about where events were taking place or to explain points made in the articles. Although Red Book's articles were exclusively fiction, the magazine published a section in the front of each issue that included from 20 to 28 portraits of women from different parts of the country. This could provide accurate depictions for those studying women's issues or for someone hoping to find a picture of a specific person. This series ran for many months in the magazine, providing portraits of hundreds of women. Atlantic Monthly, Forum and Public Opinion used no art.

Readers' Responses and Critiques In Other Publications -- Four of the magazines ran responses from readers, and these were considered to be useful in measuring accuracy of at least

Figure 4

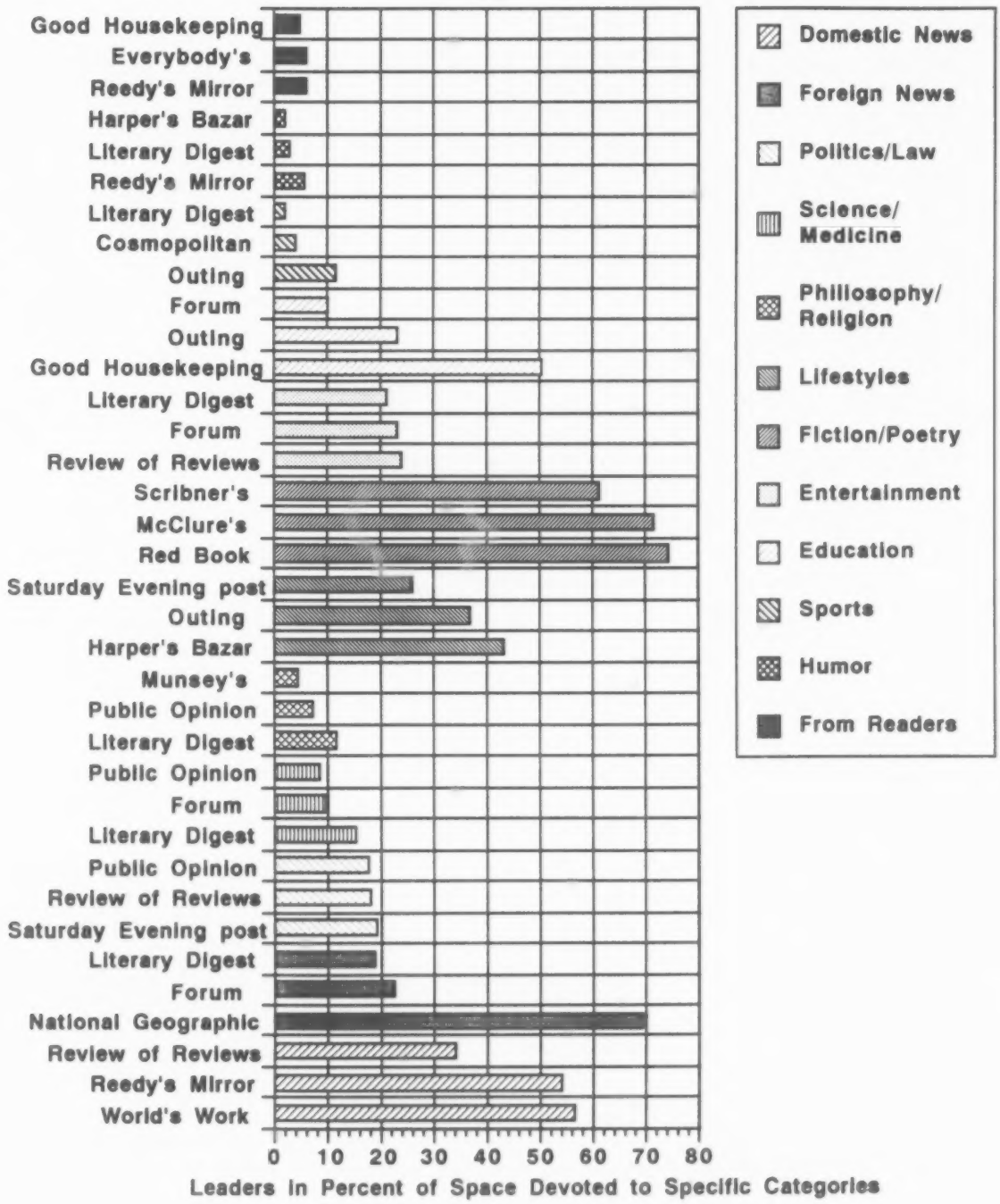

Good Housekeeping
Everybody's
Reedy's Mirror
Harper's Bazar
Literary Digest
Reedy's Mirror
Literary Digest
Cosmopolitan
Outing
Forum
Outing
Good Housekeeping
Literary Digest
Forum
Review of Reviews
Scribner's
McClure's
Red Book
Saturday Evening post
Outing
Harper's Bazar
Munsey's
Public Opinion
Literary Digest
Public Opinion
Forum
Literary Digest
Public Opinion
Review of Reviews
Saturday Evening post
Literary Digest
Forum
National Geographic
Review of Reviews
Reedy's Mirror
World's Work
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Leaders in Percent of Space Devoted to Specific Categories
Domestic News
Foreign News
Politics/Law
Science/ Medicine
Philosophy/ Religion
Lifestyles
Fiction/Poetry
Entertainment
Education
Sports
Humor
From Readers

Figure 5

Magazine	Publication Dates[31]	Ayer 1906	Cheeman 1906	Remington 1906	Ayer 1916	Ayer 1926	Cheeman 1926
American Monthly Review of Reviews	1890-1937	178,200	210,000	180,000	196,000	171,197	171,197
Atlantic Monthly	1857-	25,000	Refused	No Report	32,071	119,364	191,364
Cosmopolitan	1886-	400,000	500,000	300,000	1,000,000	No Listing	1,464,478
Everybody's Magazine	1896-???	700,000	600,000	900,000	500,000	383,386	383,386
The Forum	1886-1950	No Report	No Listing	No Listing	No Listing	20,001	22,588
Good Housekeeping	1885-	195,261	No Listing	155,156	350,000	1,150,947	No Listing
Harper's Bazar	1867-	160,000	165,000	160,000	100,000	No Figures	No Listing
Literary Digest	1890-1938	110,000	No Listing	100,000	340,000	1,237,660	1,433,483
McClure's Magazine	1893-1929	375,000	414,000	375,000	516,702	No Figures	No Report
Munsey's Magazine	1889-1929	611,267	611,267	634,000	308,000	No Figures	45,883
National Geographic	1888-	3,900	No Listing	No Listing	400,000	982,899	938,817
Outing Magazine	1882-1923	72,900	110,000	70,000	60,000	No Listing	No Listing
Public Opinion	1886-1906	50,000	No Listing	45,000	No Listing	No Listing	No Listing
Red Book	1903-	No Report	300,000	300,000	320,000	781,553	781,553
Reedy's Mirror	1891-1920	33,702	No Listing	33,000	No Listing	No Listing	No Listing
Saturday Evening Post	1821-1969	727,982	No Listing	670,000	1,910,282	2,420.175	2,420,175
Scribner's Magazine	1887-1939	180,000	175,000	200,000	106,770	71,031	71,031
World's Work	1900-1932	80,000	No Listing	No Listing	144,497	116,720	116,720

parts of the publications. Although critical comments may have been omitted, some were not. Thomas W. Lawson's three-part series titled "Frenzied Finance: The Story of Amalgamated," begun in Everybody's Magazine January 1905 and continuing through the year, elicited comments and criticism from a number writers for different publications. The series was so controversial, Everybody's published numerous letters from readers who took issue with information in the articles. However, of equal interest is Denis Donohoe's 14-part series titled "The Truth about Frenzied Finance," which ran in Public Opinion during the same time period "Frenzied Finance" ran in Everybody's. The running dialogue between authors writing for different magazines gives a rare glimpse of evaluation of the truth of material published by persons in 1905. Review of Reviews ran a regular feature titled "The Periodicals Reviewed,"

[31] Publication dates were taken from Mott's History of American Magazines and verified, where possible, from the Library of Congress catalogue.

which discussed the contents of approximately 25 magazines of the times. These reviews, and others like them, which ran sporadically in the magazines, could be useful in determining how people of the times viewed the contents of the magazines.

Circulation and Length of Publication -- As an auxiliary to the study, circulation figures were collected from leading advertising directories of 1906, 1916 and 1926, which reflect circulations for the year before (See Figure 5). It must be noted, however, that length of publication and circulation reflect what Americans found useful and are not necessarily a measure of accuracy. They are included here to point out the problem in determining accuracy of circulation figures of the time. Many magazines were known to inflate circulation figures, and the collection practices of the directories varied. It is interesting to note that Public Opinion, which seemed to give the most specific information and sources ceased publication in 1906.

Conclusion

This study shows that clues to the accuracy of magazine content exist in the pages of the publications, but emphasized that historians need a thorough understanding of a number of publications from the time to be able to evaluate the possible accuracy of magazine information. Careful historical research requires that no one source be taken as absolutely accurate, but use of magazines to verify information from other sources or from other magazines can help in identifying what Americans were willing to accept concerning issues of importance during specific times in history. Frequently the interpretations of events in magazines can provide insight that allows the historian to understand the facts from the perspective of individuals of the time period and avoid putting contemporary values on situations that existed long ago.

The problem of inaccuracy in publications is less acute in magazines than in newspapers because of the differences in deadlines, structures and purposes. Magazines are extremely useful for understanding events and putting things into perspective because they usually sought to interpret events and issues instead of just reporting what happened. Magazine editors had more opportunity to check facts or delay publication of an article if questions remained, and specialization probably made them more knowledgeable about the issues they covered.

Because they relied heavily on non-staff writers, they were able to seek out experts in the various fields and use their knowledge in the pages of the publications. This does not guarantee content accuracy, and different magazines had different standards when it came to assuring the reader received reliable information, but magazines can provide one of the most reliable printed sources of historical information in the best-preserved form of all sources for information about the past.

Further study should be done to identify other clues about the accuracy in magazines. A guide to the accuracy of influential magazines at the turn of the century could be extremely valuable to historians studying in all areas. Although very time consuming research is involved, this researcher hopes to find clues in manuscript collections by looking for letters between writers and editors that discuss the accuracy of information or expectations of editors.

Global Television and Global Community: The Utopian Rhetoric of Satellite Communications Policy, 1961-63

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Global Television and Global Community: The Utopian Rhetoric of Satellite Communications Policy, 1961-63

Historical accounts of U.S. government communications policy during the early 1960s pay little attention to international television. Yet with the launch of Telstar in 1962, public attention and policy discourse were riveted on the prospect of global tv and this paper examines the utopian policy rhetoric which accompanied the new technology. This rhetoric envisioned a medium which would both foster global communion and play a pivotal role in superpower struggle. This contradictory discourse can best be understood by placing it in an historical context which compares the communications policy of the New Frontier with what Hugh Seton-Watson refers to as the "official nationalisms" of 19th century.

GLOBAL TELEVISION AND GLOBAL COMMUNITY: THE UTOPIAN RHETORIC OF SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS POLICY, 1961-63

In the spring of 1961, as the Kennedy administration was settling into office, David Sarnoff told an audience at University of Detroit that television was "on the threshold of its second and most decisive epoch." Said Sarnoff:

> Ten years hence -- if vigorous foreign growth continues -- there will be TV stations in virtually every nation on earth telecasting to some two hundred million receivers. An audience of a billion people might then be watching the same program at the same time, with simultaneous translation techniques making it understandable to all. In a world where nearly half of the population is illiterate, no other means of mass communication could equal television's reach and impact on the human mind. (Radio Corporation of America, 1961)

After reading newspaper accounts of Sarnoff's speech, President Kennedy's recent appointee as Chair of the Federal Communications Commission, Newton Minow, dashed off a note to Sarnoff. "I was much intrigued with the accounts in the press the other day of your speech about international television," wrote Minow. "I agree that international television is probably the most exciting part of the New Frontier, and I would very much like to talk with you about it sometime." (Minow, 1961, April 10)

There is no record of when, or if, this conversation took place. However, there is extensive evidence that during his

tenure as chair of the FCC, Newton Minow paid considerable attention to the issue of international television and this marked a significant shift in government communications policy.[1]

Yet, despite this shift, historical scholarship pays little attention to these developments. What has been written about FCC policy in the early 1960s mostly relates to the controversy surrounding Newton Minow's "vast wasteland" speech. That is, most scholarship has focused on the debate over "quality television" during the early 1960s. However, as this paper will demonstrate, communications policy makers, particularly Newton Minow and key members of the Kennedy administration, were exceedingly interested in the potential of international television. This paper will analyze the contradictory rhetoric which these policy makers used to describe the utopian potential of this new technology and will discuss this rhetoric in relation to the foreign policy objectives of the New Frontier.

It will be shown that within this discourse of international television there was a tension between the communal and democratic possibilities of the medium and the self-interested and strategic potential that the technology offered. Furthermore, it will be suggested that this contradiction was linked to the conflicting aspirations of U.S. foreign policy and that these aspirations are best understood within a historical framework which compares them to what Hugh Seton-Watson and Benedict Anderson have referred to as the "official nationalisms" of the nineteenth century. Just as Czar Alexander III sought to

forge an "imagined community" throughout his diverse empire by promoting the image of a unified Russian nation, so too did the Kennedy administration seek to unite the nations of the Third World behind the image of American democracy. Therefore, it will be argued that the contradictory rhetoric which accompanied the introduction of this new technology can best be understood within the context of the "official internationalism" of the New Frontier.

This paper first will review current historical accounts of FCC policy during the era of the New Frontier. Second, it will describe the discourses of global television which emphasized the communal and educational aspects of the new medium. Third, we will turn to the rhetoric which stressed the strategic and self-interested potential of global television. And finally, the contradictory nature of these discourses will be placed within a historical context which makes them intelligible as a component of the New Frontier.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS OF FCC POLICY DURING THE NEW FRONTIER

Current scholarship regarding government communications policy during the early 1960s focuses almost exclusively on domestic issues. Thus, the "vast wasteland" speech, which Newton Minow delivered at the annual conference of the National Association of Broadcasters in 1961, is said to have set the tone for his two years as chair. In the speech Minow called for extensive reform of television programming and challenged

industry leaders to seriously reflect on the "quality" of the nation's most pervasive pastime:

> I invite you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper, profit-and-loss sheet or rating book to distract you -- and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland. (Minow, 1961, May 9, p. 210)

Although industry leaders were reportedly shaken by Minow's challenge, the press corps covering the speech was electrified.[2] Minow's critique of commercial broadcasting was the most stinging rebuke delivered by any FCC official in over a decade. News accounts of the speech were extensive and the image of the "vast wasteland" quickly passed into popular circulation.

Since that time, media and policy historians have been equally riveted by the speech. It has been referred to as "one of the seminal documents of American communications history" and as a speech that "forever changed the way Americans think about television." (Gannett Foundation Media Center, 1991, pp. 1-2) Furthermore, most histories of the electronic media during this period discuss government policy in terms of the this debate over "quality television." Erik Barnouw (1979) describes how the clerkish appearance of the new chair concealed a dexterous bureaucrat who challenged the commercial practices of the networks and opened up new opportunities for competing and non-commercial broadcast services. J. Fred MacDonald (1990) calls Minow the "intellectual point man" for the Kennedy administration who fostered a re-examination of the medium's priorities. And

Laurence Bergreen (1981) argues that Minow laid the groundwork for PBS by stimulating debate over programming and by nurturing the development UHF broadcasting. For each of these historians, the issue of quality television is framed as a domestic concern. Mary Ann Watson makes a similar assessment in her history of television during the Kennedy years.

> As the excitement surrounding the inaugural festivities mounted in Washington, television was being hailed as a profound new factor in the way Americans governed themselves. It was the way television was to be governed in this democratic society, however, that would become one of the most visible domestic issues of the Kennedy administration -- a key change from the recent past. (Watson, 1990, p. 18)

Thus, Watson, like her colleagues, sees the struggle over the "vast wasteland" as a domestic concern which was the centerpiece of FCC policy-making during the early 1960s.

Yet even those historians who move beyond the "vast wasteland" debate maintain a focus on television policy as a domestic issue. For example, Frank L. Baird (1967) has examined the policy-making process at the commission and discusses the ways in which Minow's reformist aspirations were hamstrung by Congressional oversight. And James L. Baughman (1985) follows a similar line of reasoning by arguing that the FCC was less constrained by its cozy relations with the broadcast industry than by its subordinate relationship to Congress. In essence, these researchers seek to explain why Minow failed to reform television despite his apparent support within the administration and among the press.

What is curious about this entire body of scholarship is the

absence of any critical analysis of government policy regarding international television.[3] This is particularly odd since Minow was appointed by a President who focused most of his energies on the internationalist agenda of the New Frontier. Moreover, Minow played a key role in Congressional passage of the Satellite Communications Act and was chair of the FCC when the U.S. made its first trans-Atlantic television transmissions via satellite. This was also a period when foreign aid planners emphasized the role of electronic media as a catalyst to social and economic development in Third World countries. Furthermore, this era witnessed rapid overseas expansion by American broadcast corporations who set up networks, invested in stations and marketed equipment and programming. Finally, if one looks closely at the "vast wasteland" speech itself, it becomes clear that Minow contended one of the fundamental justifications for television reform had to do with the global implications of the medium. Said Minow:

> [In] today's world, with chaos in Laos and the Congo aflame, with Communist tyranny on our Caribbean doorstep and relentless pressure on our Atlantic alliance, with social and economic problems at home of the gravest nature, yes, and with technological knowledge that makes it possible, as our President has said, not only to destroy our world but to destroy poverty around the world -- in a time of peril and opportunity, the old complacent, unbalanced fare of action-adventure and situation comedies is simply not good enough. (Minow, 1961, May 9, p. 209)

In sum, these examples suggest that the international dimension of FCC television policy during the early 1960s merits careful consideration.

This paper therefore will suggest a corrective to historical accounts of Newton Minow's leadership at the Federal Communications Commission. However, it will not weigh one policy initiative against another by arguing that the Satellite Communications Act was more significant than the All-Channel Receiver Act. Nor will this paper revisit the policy-making process at the FCC and inquire into the effectiveness of Newton Minow's leadership. Rather this paper will examine the utopian rhetoric which accompanied the new technologies of international television and, specifically, it will explore a set of contradictions which were manifested in Minow's vision of global television.

Previous historical work -- by scholars such as Warren Sussman (1984), James Carey (1989), Daniel J. Czitrom (1982), Susan Douglas (1989), Carolyn Marvin (1988), and Lynn Spigel (1992) -- has shown that new communications technologies are invariably accompanied by utopian rhetoric and that this rhetoric often influences the ways in which technologies are adapted for social use. Moreover, this rhetoric often has focused on the prospect of bringing citizens of the nation closer together. Indeed, the modern nation-state has sanctioned broadcasting as a means to encourage citizenship and foster collective identity. What makes the early 1960s unique is that, with the new technology of satellite television, government policy-makers were not simply imagining a more cohesive national community, for the first time they were imagining an international community of the

Free World.

However, one of the most striking aspects of this rhetoric is its profoundly contradictory nature. Global television seemed to offer the prospect of both enhancing global understanding and superpower struggle. Moreover, it was not just that different people articulated contrasting points of view but that leading policy-makers simultaneously entertained contradictory opinions about the potential social uses of this new technology. This was not only true of Minow, but of other leading figures in the Kennedy administration as well. The new medium was characterized both as a technology that would encourage mutual understanding, but also a means of strategic persuasion. It was envisioned as a collective undertaking that would lead to a free exchange of ideas, and yet it was also a technology developed with proprietary corporate interests in mind. In these contradictions, I believe we will find an important linkage between television policy and the foreign policy of the New Frontier. For Newton Minow's vision of this new technology was not simply a matter of bringing quality to Camelot, but of binding the Free World more tightly within the domain of American leadership. Therefore, it is important to describe some of these discursive contradictions and to suggest an historical context which might make them intelligible.

TECHNOLOGIES OF GLOBAL COMMUNION

Globally speaking, this was an era of *two* new communications

technologies. Although satellite transmissions clearly captured the attention of North Americans during the early 1960s, the technology of television itself was still new to most parts of the world. This is reflected in the dramatic increases in international sales of television receivers during this period. The U.S. Information Agency estimated that in 1960 alone the number of television receivers in overseas markets grew by twenty percent (TV gains, 1962). And in 1962, the revenues from foreign syndication of U.S. telefilm programming equaled domestic revenues for the very first time (Dizard, 1964; Foreign syndie, 1962). Leaders in the U.S. television industry closely followed these developments and became actively involved in these growing markets. Indeed, many commentators, such as David Sarnoff, believed that television was ushering a new epoch in human history.

Government policy-makers apparently agreed with this assessment and much of their rhetoric prefigured Marshall McLuhan's notion of the global village. Television, it was said, would usher in an era of worldwide communion and in his "vast wasteland" speech Newton Minow predicted that this era of global television would soon be at hand. Said Minow:

> No one knows how long it will be until a broadcast from a studio in New York will be viewed in India as well as in Indiana, will be seen in the Congo as well as Chicago. But surely as we are meeting here today, that day will come -- and once again our world will shrink. (Minow, 1961, May 9, p.215)

Satellite television would not only speed communication and expand the range of diffusion, it would also foster the spread of

democratic and dialogic politics. For example, the Kennedy administration insisted on a satellite system that offered equal access to Third World countries despite the fact that satellite traffic across the North Atlantic was projected to be much more lucrative (Finney, 1961). Furthermore, President Kennedy argued from the outset that the satellite communications network must operate "in the interest of world peace and a closer brotherhood among peoples throughout the world." (Kennedy, 1961, p. 219)

Similarly, in a 1962 speech to television executives, Minow spoke of a free flow of ideas rather than a one-way flow of information and imagery. "With vision and cooperation," said Minow, "international television in the next decade can become the uncommon market for the free exchange of ideas." (Minow, 1962, September 27, p. 212) Such an exchange was important not only because of its utopian appeal, but because policy-makers contended that better communication could forestall the sorts conflict that might escalate into nuclear war. Minow reflected on these possibilities in a speech to San Francisco business leaders:

> What can save us? It has been wisely observed that mankind's saving grace may be just this: our technical capacity for mass communications has kept pace with our mastery of the means of mass destruction. To survive, we can, we must, talk to each other... The power of television to shape the American mind, the world's mind, is something new on earth. How that power is used in a free society depends on each of us. (Minow, 1961, December 22, p. 131)

Minow argued that better communication would lead to better understanding -- not simply among nations -- but among peoples of

the world. Discussion, compromise, and democratic process are at the core of this vision. Yet Minow's democratic rhetoric also shaped by liberal notions of *noblesse oblige*. For it was not simply a matter of dialogue among equals, but also a matter of educating the poor and the ignorant in distant parts of the globe, and of opening their eyes to the possibilities of the modern world. For the dawning of the age of global television also was the era of the Peace Corps and of rapidly escalating development aid to Third World countries.

TECHNOLOGIES OF ENLIGHTENMENT

A commentator for the *Christian Science Monitor* captured this enthusiasm for television as an educational tool when he observed:

> What the industrial revolution did to the society and economy of our forebears is nothing compared to what the space revolution we are now experiencing is going to do to our economy and society in the next few decades... In education there could be 'live' regional presentation of lectures and social events, which now are taped. School children could be exposed to worldwide 'live' events anywhere they happened. Space-based radio and TV could be used to do much of the teaching in underdeveloped areas." (Sanford, 1961)

Minow was well aware of such prognostications and readily embraced the possibilities that were suggested. One of Minow's close correspondent's during his time at the FCC was Harry Ashmore, Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and a fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.[4] While temporarily in residency at the Center, Ashmore wrote Minow

a five thousand word memo detailing a plan for using radio to spur economic and social development in the Dominican Republic. Like Daniel Lerner (1958), Wilbur Schramm (1964), and Walter Rostow (1962), Ashmore suggested that broadcasting could play a key role in promoting positive social change.[5] In this particular case, the ultimate aim was to stabilize a turbulent political situation which had arisen after the death of Rafael Trujillo, a dictator who previously had the support of the U.S. government (Ashmore, 1963). Thus, Ashmore suggested that radio could bring social and economic development to the island and this in turn would foster the transition to a stable, democratic form of government similar to the United States. In response to Ashmore's analysis, Minow wrote, "That's a brilliant memorandum which I read twice with great fascination and admiration." (Minow, 1963, May 7)

As chair of the FCC, it certainly was not Minow's responsibility to pursue such projects. However, if his personal files are any indication, Minow's interest in the educational potential of television was not restricted to the U.S. When Gerald F. Winfield, the chief of communications resources for the Agency for International Development (US AID) pressed for funding to distribute television sets to Third World villages, press accounts of the proposal were dutifully logged in the chair's files. Winfield wanted to place one thousand television sets in five test-site villages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He hoped to use them to instruct farmers in modern agricultural

techniques and to foster economic development (Where your, 1962).

Yet the aim of such communications projects was not simply to deliver information, but also to alter the worldview of people throughout the Third World. According to Daniel Lerner (1958, pp. 43-75), development could only take place if individuals living in traditional societies could envision themselves as part of a larger national and global community. Thus, television was a crucial medium that would help illiterate populations see beyond the boundaries of tribe, custom, and tradition. Moreover, it was suggested that television could cultivate the aspirations and expectations of modernity.

Another clipping which found its way into the files of the chair featured the opinions of Richard N. Gardner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, who at the time was deeply involved in planning the United Nations satellite program. Gardner (1962) argued that satellite television could forge "new bonds of mutual knowledge and understanding between nations." It would foster a shared symbolic system throughout the world. Just as importantly, he projected that someday satellite radio and television might be directly broadcast into homes around the globe. And when such a day arrived, the boundaries of superstition, ignorance, and nation would be breached. Broadcasting would bring together the "family of man."

TECHNOLOGIES OF COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGE

Despite these utopian aspirations for global community and

public enlightenment, the policy rhetoric of international television was neither disinterested nor benign when it came to economic and strategic concerns. For another aim of global television was to foster an integrated sphere of operations for American-based transnational corporations and the U.S. military. In this context, the needs and aspirations of powerful U.S. institutions were to be served ahead of all others.

For example, ABC was one of the most aggressive American broadcasting firms in its drive to establish television networks in Latin America. These networks, managed from New York, were intended to make it possible for major corporations such as Coca-Cola and Lever Brothers to purchase advertising time associated with programming that would be broadcast throughout the Western Hemisphere. Thus, international television would not only bring enlightenment, but also provide a competitive advantage to U.S. corporations operating in Latin America. And given the pace of economic development there during the decade of the fifties, broadcasting executives such as Donald Coyle, vice president of ABC's international division, contended that Latin America held tremendous promise for U.S.-based corporations. However, Coyle cautioned that firms from other industrialized countries also would be competing for this business and he argued that international television would provide a decisive advantage for American manufacturers. Said Coyle:

> The five Central American countries imported 125% more in 1957 than they did in 1950, and the volume is still increasing. In addition, population is growing at a faster rate than any place else on earth. The demand

> for goods and services in future years will be huge...
>
> U.S. industry will be competing with the rest of the world in attempting to fill that demand. To compete successfully it must use the most potent selling force known -- television, the medium for personal selling and personal communication. (Coyle, 1960)

Although Minow did not play a direct role in the formulation of such plans for network expansion, he never expressed any concerns about the contradictions between public service and commercial enterprise in the field of international television. In fact, Minow embraced the commercial ambitions of the networks, but sought to temper them with a spirit of public service.

On the other hand, Minow did play a leading role in the negotiations which led up to the passage of the Satellite Communications Act and here we can glimpse the ways in which policy rhetoric wedded the economic interests of American corporations to the utopian project of international television. For Minow was actively involved in drafting the legislation that established COMSAT, the corporation that would control the first global satellite network.

Despite the official "free market" doctrines of the U.S. government, COMSAT negotiations took place behind closed doors and involved collusive pie-sharing among some of America's biggest corporations, such as AT&T and RCA.[7] Minow played a central role in these negotiations and defended the decision to exclude participation by foreign corporations (Ripley, 1961; Editorial, 1961; Kohlmeier, 1961). The FCC took this route according to the *Wall Street Journal* because "a wide-open

approach, the FCC fears, might in effect force the U.S. to offer ownership to foreign manufacturers as well, so splintering ownership that control of the combine could pass out of U.S. hands altogether." (Kohlmeier, 1961) Nor was there any consultation with the United Nations during this early planning stage (Editorial, 1961; Murrow, 1961). COMSAT emerged as an exclusive product of U.S. government and corporate enterprise.

Minow justified this closed process not only because it would enhance the competitive position of American firms, but because it maintain an edge over the Soviets who were supposedly ready to launch a competing system (Kohlmeier, 1961).[8] During an address to the Third National Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Space, Minow remarked:

> As citizens, each of us has a staggering stake in the issues. A basic question of our time is whether a free society or a totalitarian dictatorship can make the best use of the technological revolution. (Minow, 1963, May 8, p. 274)

Thus, Minow contended that the "national interest" superseded free market principles in this instance and he cited Hubert Humphrey as articulating "our national purpose" when Humphrey said, "I wish to afford the world an example of what can happen in this country when the Government works with the private sector of our economy and when Government and industry walk arm in arm toward a common purpose and with a common goal." (Minow, 1963, May 8, p. 274)

Therefore, despite the utopian rhetoric of global television, there were instances in which principles of human

brotherhood were constrained by national boundaries. Nowhere was this more apparent than the ways in which policy rhetoric envisioned international television as an important weapon in the Cold War.

TECHNOLOGIES OF STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE

Like many associated with the Kennedy Presidential campaign, Newton Minow believed that television had been a key factor in JFK's election. The administration's fascination with television was further stimulated by the surprisingly strong ratings of Kennedy's live press conferences. The President himself became fond of referring to television as his favorite propaganda weapon (Rosen, 1962, March 7).

Moreover, the promise of *international* television further enhanced the stature of the medium in the eyes of the administration. The top-rated public affairs program of 1962 featured Jacqueline Kennedy's television tour of the White House. Not only was this a hit at home, but it was estimated that global syndication of the program -- facilitated by the United States Information Agency -- brought the total audience to several hundred million (Minow, 1962, June 26). The First Lady instantly became an international video icon and the President seemed well aware of this status when, shortly thereafter, he introduced himself during a state dinner in Paris as "Mrs. Kennedy's escort." Thus, the President was quite conscious of television's power to project images across national boundaries and of the

administration's power to influence those images.

Nor was the President alone in making this assessment. In the spring of 1962, Tedson Meyers, administrative assistant to Newton Minow, produced a report which was the product of consultations with top officials at the White House, State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. Information Agency, U.S. Aid for Internatinal Development, National Association of Broadcasters, Ford Foundation, and European Broadcasting Union. The report introduces itself by noting that "The Kennedy Administration holds office at the precise moment when the United States can begin to exploit the potential power of international television and radio broadcasting in our national interest." (Meyers, 1962) It then goes on to advocate a centralized body within the State Department or White House that would coordinate international broadcasting policy in order to: 1) assist in the development of foreign broadcast systems so all countries of the Free World could be linked into the U.S. global communications network, 2) encourage American investment in communications projects overseas, 3) insure access to foreign markets for U.S. programming, 4) stimulate the production of American programming which serves foreign policy objectives, and 5) establish government criteria for the content of programs targetted for international distribution.

Shortly after the report reached the White House, it was leaked to the press. Why it was leaked is unclear, but it generated a howl of protest from network executives who expressed

concern about government censorship of programming (Meyers' controversial, 1962). Although no further action was taken on the report, the recommendations provide a summary of the administration's strategic interests in global television. As correspondent Robert Lewis Shayon aptly put it, "In the global chess game that we and the Russians are playing there are many pieces, and international TV is clearly one of them." (Shayon, 1961)

On one level, this chess game involved the use of global broadcasting for explicit propaganda purposes. This was largely the domain of Radio Free Europe and the USIA. On another level, however, Minow was interested in the messages that would be carried overseas by commercial television. In a 1962 address to broadcasting executives, the chair of the FCC chided industry leaders to be sensitive to the political implications of their entertainment program exports and of their satellite transmissions. Said Minow:

> Your country will look to you to exercise your trust with responsibility. We will look to you to be concerned not only with commercial check and balance sheets, but also with democratic checks and balances; not only with avoiding red ink, but also with preventing red dictatorship.
>
> Your government will not and cannot monitor or censor your world programs--either the programs you send or the programs you receive and show to America. That's going to be the job of your conscience and your character. The penalty for irresponsibility will be more serious for the nation than the revocation of a station license. If this is too much responsibility for you, you should not be involved in international television. (Minow, 1962, September 27, p. 211)

Minow also promoted such notions of public service in his

private discussions and correspondence with industry leaders. Here he paid particular attention to public affairs programming, arguing that television's informational potential would play a key role in combating Communist ideological influence. Network executives clearly took notice and responded to this initiative by touting their growing news and public affairs operations (Woodstone, 1961; Hagerty, 1962; TV news, 1962).[9]

In part, Minow was hoping that broadcasters would help to project a positive image of the American nation, an image of model democracy which operated through enlightened reflection and debate. He also hoped that broadcasters would take it upon themselves to project the image of the Other, the monolithic Communist threat.

Network awareness of these aspirations is reflected in a packet of NBC promotional materials which were mailed to the FCC Chair regarding an upcoming, four-part series on Communism. The packet included an advertisement for one episode called "The Death of Stalin," a program which, said the ad, "supported the NBC thesis that television documentaries needn't be dull." (McAndrew, undated) Apparently Minow agreed, for he dashed off a note to the Irving Gitlin, executive producer of the series, which said, "you should be very proud of the series you are doing on Communism. It's an extraordinary achievement. As a citizen I wish everybody could see it and that it would be rerun often." (Minow, 1963, February 5)

In this environment, network news and public affairs

programming flourished, especially those shows with a topical emphasis on the global confrontation with Communism (Red threat, 1962; For all, 1961; Bleat, pleat, 1962). At the same time, overseas program syndicators beefed up their catalogues with informational programming (Rosen, 1961, May 17; Rosen, 1961, October 25; News and pubaffairs, 1961). NBC even went so far as to offer 125 hours of free public affairs programming to countries in the early stages of developing a television broadcasting system. "Operation: Documentaries," as it was called, had the dual advantage of assisting new stations, while at the same time tying these stations to the interests of NBC and the U.S. government (NBC Int'l, 1962).

Therefore, without violating the taboo boundary of censorship, Minow's rhetoric promoted such public service programming during a period of sluggish advertising sales at the networks (Autos taking, 1961, March 1; Brighter sales, 1961, October 4; Rosen, 1962, March 21; ABC affils, 1962, April 4; TV networks, 1962, May 2). He did this not through rules or reports and orders, but through "regulation by raised eyebrow." Thus, the chair used the utopian rhetoric of international television in order to prod broadcasters to distribute programming which met the strategic needs of the U.S. government.

This is the context which has been stripped away from the "vast wasteland" speech. When Newton Minow criticized the performance of commercial television, he was not simply referring to the medium's failure to deliver high culture fare. He also

was arguing that television did not do enough to keep citizens informed of America's global interests and of the threats posed by monolithic Communism. Moreover, he was concerned that commercial television programming projected the wrong image of the United States in overseas markets. In his renowned assessment of television Minow demonstrated an acute awareness of the political implications of global television. He said:

> What will the people of other countries think of us when they see our Western badmen and good men punching each other in the jaw in between the shooting? What will the Latin American or African child learn of America from our great communications industry? We cannot permit television in its present form to be our voice overseas. (Minow, 1961, May 9)

Minow's vision of broadcast reform was not simply one of Camelot, quality television, and democratic process, it was also a vision of global struggle against a Communist threat. Thus, the rhetoric of international television reflected strategic considerations as much as democratic idealism and this combination engendered a fundamental set of contradictions. The new medium was characterized both as a technology that would encourage mutual understanding, but also a means of strategic persuasion. It was envisioned as a collective undertaking that would lead to a free exchange of ideas, and yet it was also a technology developed with proprietary corporate interests in mind.

Such contradictions could simply be dismissed as the product of Cold War intrigue. That is, one could simply point to the Communist threat during the early 1960s and justify these

rhetorical ambiguities for strategic reasons. It seemed appropriate to talk about long-term aspirations for global community, while focussing on the short-term necessities in the struggle to survive.

On the other hand, such an explanation fails to acknowledge the complex and specific historical forces at work during this era. Changes in the U.S. economy and in foreign policy during the 1950s along with the continuing decolonization of the Third World had generated a crisis for American leaders by the end of the fifties. The United States was at the zenith of its post-War power, but it was also struggling to integrate and defend a vast geographic area of influence. Moreover, it was struggling for the allegiance of diverse peoples within the so called Free World. This attempt to integrate, defend, and mobilize popular support across international boundaries can best be understood by placing it in a wider historical context which pays attention to the relationship between mass communications and the construction of "imagined communities." What I wish to suggest is that the Kennedy administration confronted a challenge that was very much like the one which confronted leaders of imperial regimes during the nation-building era of the 19th century. And like the leaders of that earlier time, the administration sought to use new communication technologies to mobilize popular allegiance throughout its sphere of strategic influence. This engendered certain contradictions which manifested themselves in the utopian rhetoric of global television. To understand these

contradictions, we must briefly turn to the literature regarding nations and nationalism.

THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY OF THE FREE WORLD

It has been argued that during the modern era, one of the most fundamental acts of collective imagination is that which produces and sustains the nation. Numerous scholars (e.g., Anderson, 1989; Hobsbawm, 1991; Seton-Watson, 1977) have pointed out that prior to the late 18th century the modern nation-state did not exist. Previously, states were defined by centers; borders were porous and indistinct; and the exercise of power involved a series of alliances. Vassals paid homage to their king, subjects tribute to the vassals, and the organization of society was hierarchically structured according to notions of divine rule.[10]

This began to change with the emergence of modern nation-states following the American and French Revolutions. These new states were envisioned as voluntary political associations in which sovereignty ultimately resided with the people rather than the king. In such an environment widespread support was a fundamental necessity. It is important to note, however, that such allegiances could not be assumed. These new nations did not emerge from a "natural" association of people who shared a single spoken language or some sort of uniform ethnic identity. At the time of the French Revolution, for example, less than half of that new nation's population spoke what would come to be

characterized as "proper" French. Furthermore, Alsatians, Normans, and Huguenots shared little in the way of a cultural tradition. One of the significant characteristics of these revolutions was that they brought together disparate peoples in a voluntary association that was not based on allegiance to divine providence, either through the figure of a monarch or sacred scripture.

This same pattern of nation-building repeated itself throughout Europe in the nineteenth century during a period in which democratization swept the continent. Unified modern nation-states emerged in such places as Germany and Italy as smaller states were folded into larger political units. It was argued at the time that such integration was beneficial both politically and economically, thus linking the processes of industrialization, modernization, and nation-building. Moreover, it was argued that this trend marked the forward progress of humankind and that ultimately smaller nationalities, traditions, and languages were doomed to disappear.

Benedict Anderson contends that these developments generated a change in consciousness as well. Previously, the average person's loyalties were mostly local, whereas in this new era political loyalty was not so much a matter of face-to-face interaction as it was an imagined relationship. Indeed, the nation itself, was an imagined entity. "It is imagined," writes Anderson, "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear

of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (Anderson, 1989, p.15)

Such imaginings were made possible by the rapid expansion of print capitalism during the 18th and 19th century and especially by the growth of the newspaper industry. Newspapers were important because they standardized language and implied a community of address among individuals who were otherwise anonymous to each other. Furthermore, with the development of telegraphy and news wire services, information throughout the nation was standardized and prioritized according to what were presumed to be the shared interests of the readers.

Newspapers also played an important role in fostering imagined community because their consumption took place according to a clocked regularity. That is, unlike other goods such as sugar, clothing, or cutlery, the newspaper was consumed within a specific and relatively short time horizon. The reading of the daily newspaper became something like the ritual of silent daily prayer. Writes Anderson, "each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion." (Anderson, 1989, p. 38) This simultaneous, ritualistic activity helped to bind newspaper readers into a national community whose collective identity developed in relation to events which unfolded over time. In sum, the emergence of modern nation-states during the 19th century can largely be attributed

to these factors: democratization, economic integration, and mass communication.

On the other hand, many modern nation-states which evolved during this era were not the product of popular will, rather they were an elite reaction *against* popular nationalist agitation by regional groups within the borders of existing empires. Here, ruling aristocratic or dynastic elements tapped one variant of popular nationalism within their realm of influence and promoted it throughout the empire as serving the collective good. In this way they hoped to head off other forms of populist agitation within their sphere of influence. Hugh Seton-Watson (1977) refers to this policy as "official nationalism."

Nineteenth century Russia is a one example of this policy at work. In response to emerging nationalist movements in the Ukraine, Finland, and the Baltic States, Czar Alexander III took a number of steps to shore up his regime and integrate his empire. First, he enforced Russian as the official language throughout his realm for the purposes of education and administration. Thus, German, slavic or other tongues were banned from schools, the military, and ministry offices. Secondly, the Czar sought to integrate administrative functions of the government. Thirdly, he nurtured education, modernization, and mass communications. And finally his regime promoted symbols of Russian nationalism in an attempt to win popular allegiance to a unified nation-state (Seton-Watson, 1977, pp. 77-87).

All this was done as a way to head off local forms of

nationalism within the empire. Thus, Russian nationalism was adopted and then promoted by the dynasty as a way to forestall Latvian or Ukranian nationalisms. As Benedict Anderson has characterized these developments, a sleight of hand was necessary in order to allow "the empire to appear attractive in national drag." (Anderson, 1989, p. 83)

I wish to argue that during the early 1960s, the foreign policy of the New Frontier can best be understood as somewhat analogous to this policy of Russification. But instead of an official nationalism, it might best be characterized as an official internationalism. Just as the Russian czar reacted to popular uprisings within his geographic sphere of influence, so did the U.S. foreign policy establishment react to what were referred to as the growing number of "brushfire wars" in the Third World.

To understand this reaction we must note that during the 1950s, decolonization throughout the Third World often involved the emergence of independence movements which coupled nationalist sentiment with socialist politics. U.S. policy makers interpreted such movements as threatening American interests. Nevertheless, President Eisenhower and many Republican leaders were not enthusiastic about the prospect of American intervention overseas. Therefore, the administration relied on nuclear "brinkmanship" and covert operations as a means of protecting American interests abroad.

By the end of the decade, however, a consensus emerged

within the corporate and foreign policy communities that developments in the Third World necessitated a change of strategy. In particular, this consensus called for a military build-up and an activist policy of social and economic intervention in the Third World. It was argued that the United States needed to play a more vigorous role in fostering integration of the Free World behind American leadership.

This consensus found expression in the Kennedy campaign platform and in the policies of the new administration. That is, like the nineteenth century czarist policy of Russification, the aim of the New Frontier was to shore up unrest in the post-colonial world and to project the image of the American nation as serving the collective good within the community of the Free World. Just as the Russian leadership sought to coopt local nationalisms within Georgia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic states, so too, did U.S. policy-makers envision a response to unrest in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East which would position these emerging nationalisms within the fold of an American-led Free World.

And here, global television was very important for four reasons. First of all, television -- as a means of visual communication -- could mobilize popular allegiance to the Free World among both literate and non-literate citizens. Such popular allegiances seemed important in the post-colonial world because alliances with local elites no longer were sufficient due to the fact that most nationalist movements in the Third World

had been predicated the concept of popular sovereignty.

Secondly, these technologies could foster the image of democratic dialoge. This was an important feature of U.S. efforts to distinguish the Free World from the Communist World. That is, the supposed ***difference*** between East and West rested upon the free flow of information and ideas. Therefore, it was not appropriate for the U.S. to simply project the image of imperial power as the European states had done during the colonial era, rather it had to promote images of democratic choice and popular U.S. leadership.

Thirdly, global television, like the newspaper of the nineteenth century, implied a community of address and a clocked consumption of information and images. It promised to bring people together across boundaries of race, ehtnicity, language, and nation on a regular basis. Policy-makers hoped that, as a result, it would foster U.S. economic and military influence across a vast expanse.

Finally, international television could facilitate a flow of information about the outside world into the United States and help to mobilize American nationalist sentiment on behalf of an activist foreign policy. Global television could help American citizens to see themselves as playing a leadership role in the Free World and this was essential if the government was going to undertake a massive increase in military and foreign aid programs.

Thus, the utopian rhetoric of global television was

intimately tied to the New Frontier project of imagining a transnational community of the Free World under U.S. leadership. But as Benedict Anderson has noted, such mass mediated notions of community in the modern world carry with them the baggage of popular sovereignty (Anderson, 1989, pp. 80-103). That is, the modern nation-state could only be imagined as a community so long as it assumed an equality of rights and freedom of choice. By borrowing this model of an imagined community, the Kennedy administration had broken with imperial notions of paternalism and cultural superiority. Instead, it presented itself as a popular leadership among the citizens of the free world. This was a unique departure from the tactics of previous empires and therefore *necessitated* a means of drawing together the people of the free world in regular, mass-mediated communion.

In sum, the utopian rhetoric of international television was an important component of communications policy discourse during the early 1960s. Not only did it shape the development and deployment of satellite technology, but it also influenced the rhetoric of reform regarding quality programming on domestic network television. Furthermore, the rhetoric of international television suggests meaningful linkages between FCC policy during the early 1960s and the foreign policy of the New Frontier. These utopian imaginings of global television help to flush out some of the vital context which has been stripped away in previous historical accounts of the Minow years at the Federal Communications Commission.

Notes

1. For example, Minow said that when he was being briefed by his fellow commissioners soon after he took the job, they went over all the key policy issues confronting the FCC. Significantly, Minow recalls that nothing was mentioned about satellite policy or international television (Minow, 1989, January 10).

It is also interesting to note that prior to Minow's arrival at the Commission, the FCC's most recent action regarding programming makes no mention of the international implications of television programming (FCC, 1960).

2. According to *Variety* (TV Wasteland, 1963), Minow generated more column inches of press coverage during his term in office than any other appointee of President Kennedy, with the exception of Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

3. It should be pointed out that Herbert I. Schiller (1971) has provided an excellent outline of the longer trajectory of U.S. international communications policy during the post-World War II era. However, Schiller pays no attention to the activities of Minow's FCC and tends to discuss the rhetoric surrounding such policy-making in an instrumentalist fashion.

On the other hand, Watson (1990, pp. 203-212) does discuss satellite policy during the Kennedy years, but does so in a fashion which tends to uncritically celebrate the actions of the New Frontiersmen.

4. Before joining the 1960 Presidential election campaign, Newton Minow worked for Adlai Stevenson's law firm in Chicago. One of his major clients was Encyclopaedia Britannica which was then owned by William Benton, the founder of Benton and Bowles advertising agency and the former Assistant Secretary of State who spear-headed the U.S. effort to promote a "free flow of information" after World War II. These efforts were primarily intended to open up markets abroad for the Associated Press and United Press International. Benton, who also served in the 1950s as a Senator from Connecticut, maintained an avid interest in international communications issues and argued that they were an important component in the Cold War struggle. Perhaps coincidently, international markets also offered expanded sales possibilities for Britannica's growing print and audio-visual materials.

While working for the Stevenson firm, Minow became close friends with Benton. And when Minow left the Commission, it was to return to Chicago where he became Executive Vice President, General Counsel, and a Director of Encyclopaedia Britannica. About his decision to leave the Commission and join Britannica, see Minow (1962, September 12). For analyses of the "free flow" doctrine see Smith (1980) and Schiller (1976).

5. Based on his ground-breaking research in the Middle East, Daniel Lerner is referred to as the "father" of the dominant

paradigm in development communications. Wilbur Schramm, another important researcher in this area, served as a key official at UNESCO during the early 1960s. Walt W. Rostow served as President Kennedy's Deputy Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. Prior to his government service, Rostow worked as an economist at Harvard.

6. These notions of global community and mutual knowledge also are interesting in light of popular notions regarding "the family of man" during this period. For not only does development theory suggest that all societies progress through similar stages of economic development, but it also suggests that underneath our racial and cultural exteriors, all humans are essentially the same. Regarding notions of human commonality, see the coffee-table picture book, *The Family of Man,* that was popular during the 1950s and early 1960s (Steichen, 1955). This book grew out of museum show which travelled the globe during the 1950s courtesy of the USIA.

7. These corporations saw satellite communications as vital to their future growth. For example, in 1951, RCA derived 80% of its revenues from entertainment-related business. One decade later, over half of its sales volume came from industrial, government, and space-related communications (Broadcasting has, 1961). Among other corporations with strong interest in this area were AT&T, GE, GTE, ITT, and Western Union.

It is also important to note that existing trans-oceanic cable systems were not an outmoded technology. Numerous scholars have pointed out, however, that British interests controlled much of the traffic by cable and therefore one of the reasons for U.S. government and corporate support of satellite development had to do with a desire for a global communications system which the U.S. controlled (Schiller 1976, pp. 24-45; Smith, 1980, pp. 41-67; and Winston, 1986, pp. 256-61).

8. Although this is an oft-repeated concern during this period, there was no tangible evidence at the time to support the claim that the Soviets were ready to launch a competing system.

9. Mary Ann Watson claims that Minow's activities had a direct causal impact on news and public affairs programming in prime time (Watson, 1990, pp. 135-6). However, Watson overlooks a number of other factors at work during this period and fails to note that documentary and other news programming had already been on the rise before Minow's arrival at the Commission. Perhaps a more accurate characterization of Minow's influence would point to the fact that the networks continued to invest in news and public affairs during his tenure despite the fact that advertising sales were relatively sluggish.

10. Although subjects paid tribute to their lords, this should not be confused with personal affection or political commitment.

As for heads of state during this time, they sought acquiescence from their subjects more than anything else. Indeed, the last thing they wished to encourage was passionate political involvement on the part of their subjects.

As E.J. Hobsbawm has noted: "Frederick the Great indignantly refused the offer of his loyal Berliners to help him defeat the Russians who were about to occupy his capital, on the ground that wars were the business of soldiers, not civilians. And we all remember the reaction of emperor Francis II to the guerrilla rising of his faithful Tyroleans: 'Today they are patriots for me, tomorrow they may be patriots against me.'" (Hobsbawm, 1991, p. 75)

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ABSTRACT

"Get Thee To The Kitchen! The First Wave of the Women's Movement in the 19th Century Political Cartoons of Puck, Punchinello, and Harper's Weekly"

The 19th century press, said Susan B. Anthony, "referred to those fighting for political equality as hyenas, cats, crowning hens. . . . " This paper and slide show provide and overview of the way early women's rights activists were portrayed in the cartoons of Puck, Punchinello, and Harper's Weekly from 1840-1920. The paper also argues for treating these cartoons as political rather than social commentary, as is often done, since they deal with women's struggle for equitable distribution of power.

GET THEE TO THE KITCHEN! THE FIRST WAVE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE 19TH CENTURY POLITICAL CARTOONS OF PUCK, PUNCHINELLO, AND HARPER'S WEEKLY

INTRODUCTION

Political cartoons have been a powerful component of American journalism since Paul Revere first took up his pen against the British. Since then, cartoonists have been performing many of the same functions as their journalistic counterparts: setting agendas, keeping critical watch on government, shaping public opinion, and offering interpretations and solutions to some of society's most pressing events.[1]

Individually, cartoons have the power to convey instantly the ironies of complex social and political situations. They are clear, direct, compelling, and render pervious the barriers of language and literacy. Collectively, cartoons exert a subtle yet pervasive influence, by both monitoring and shaping popular opinion. According to Charles Press, a cartoon historian, the political cartoon throughout its history has remained "critical comment aimed at the fairly bright, that group of society which . . . manages most of society's affairs."[2] Press notes that cartoons act as a type of conduit between government officials, opinion leaders, and the general public. They also act as a monitor of popular opinion because "popular critics, especially cartoonists have to be timely. . . those who are too offbeat in their preferences either find themselves confined to a small audience or have to find a way to ally themselves with more widely cherished groups."[3]

Cartoons give special life to history, as they are imbued with the passion and humor of their time. Many historical events of import have been chronicled in cartoon anthologies. Yet, while American history in general has begun including women, most of these anthologies remain only sparsely dotted with cartoons focusing on women's political influence. Although many cartoons on this subject have appeared in periodicals throughout our history, anthologists, with few exceptions, have not found them of sufficient interest or import to include them in their collections.

This paper focuses on the first wave of the women's movement: from the first national women's convention in 1848 to the passage of the 19th amendment in 1920. Women during this time began collectively to widen their sphere by venturing outside the home into education, business and politics. The suffrage movement also gained prominence during these 72 years and stirred up much debate in the American press. Frank Luther Mott, a media historian, notes in his History of American Magazines that the position of women was a topic much discussed "by quarterlies, monthlies, weeklies, of all description."[4] In this time period, the "woman question" had entered national political debate, and a collective women's movement was born. This movement was met with resistance and challenge that was vented in the press. A British cartoonist living in the colonies portrayed the first petition signing of women against British tea as a "grotesque gathering."[5] Nearly 100 years later, Susan B. Anthony, a leading organizer of the suffrage movement, protested that it was impossible to secure serious

commentary in any newspaper for women's suffrage arguments. Instead, the 19th century press, she said, "regularly referred to those fighting for political equality as hyenas, cats, crowning hens. . ."[6]

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of political cartoon anthologies that deal with American history revealed that most contain brief, if any, mention of women. William Murrell in A History of American Graphic Humor devotes one small paragraph to the subject, noting only that cartoons were "caustically satirizing the political aspirations of the ladies."[7] He includes two lithographs by Currier and Ives to illustrate the point, and mentions a caricature of the women's club Sorosis.

Stephen Hess in The Ungentlemanly Art, a more recent study of cartooning, perfunctorily sums up the subject by stating ". . . prohibition and woman suffrage were, in the opinion of America's cartoonists, the two most satire-provoking, gag producing issues that had ever come along to rescue a harried artist from an impending deadline."[8]

Frank Luther Mott's History of American Magazines provides a much more in-depth discussion of illustrations that "showed the place of woman as understood during this period."[9] His treatment reflects the prominence the woman question had in the social and political discussions of the time.

Recently, two works have been published that deal with the

history of women in cartoons. Katherine Meyer explores how the portrayal of the social role of women changed over time in Independence Day cartoons which appeared in five major newspapers from 1860 - 1960. Etheil and Franzen published a collection of cartoons portraying the history of women. Neither work distinguishes the political from the social cartoon, or outlines how cartoons dealing with "the woman question" are political and therefore merit inclusion in the political cartoon anthologies.

METHOD

This paper will offer a qualitative analysis of the first wave of the women's movement (1848-1920) as portrayed in cartoons, and will show why cartoons dealing with issues such as dress reform, higher education for women, women in athletics, etc. are profoundly political in nature.

Three American magazines form the focus of this study: Harper's Weekly, Punchinello, and the American edition of Puck. These periodicals were among the foremost illustrated magazines of the time, and together they span the time period of this study. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly was omitted because, although it was the foremost illustrated weekly of its time, the drawings that dealt with women were not of a political nature.

Alan Dunn's definition of the political cartoon which appears in his history of caricature guided the selection of cartoons for this study. Dunn identifies three classifications that help define political cartoons as a distinct form: comic art, the social

cartoon, and the political cartoon. According to Dunn, comic art has one function: entertainment. The social cartoon provides a commentary on life and society, occasionally advocating individual reform. The political cartoon is quite distinct, however, in that it "needs to have an implicit appeal to do something political."[10] It is partisan, advocating political action in either support of, or opposition to, the status quo.

The sample used for this study were those cartoons which dealt with women's ventures outside their traditional spheres of home and motherhood - such as women in the workplace, in education, and in politics. These issues are profoundly political in that they address the traditional distribution of power along gender lines. Cartoons dealing with these issues either advocated the maintenance of the existing power structure, or supported action to change it. Cartoons dealing with women's ventures outside the private female sphere into the public male sphere have been largely ommitted from collections of political cartoons, or have received perfunctory treatment. Other anthologists, such as Ethiel and Franzen, have not differentiated social from political commentary when dealing with women in cartoons. This treatment reinforces the concept of women's activities as being largely apolitical, or at most of secondary political importance. However, this treatment betrays a profound misunderstanding of the nature of the women's movement. Women's efforts to gain equal opportunities in business, education and other areas outside the home is vitally linked to their struggle to gain political equality, or the full freedoms and

responsibilities of citizenship afforded to men under the law. For example, women's venture into business required changes in property laws which would entitle a woman to control and invest her earnings. A woman's ability to participate in politics required changes in suffrage laws, and hinged on accessibility to higher education. Dress reform meant greater physical mobility and the ability to engage in activities open only to men, such as athletics. It also challenged the prevailing notions of femininity, and the manners in dress and behavior those notions required. Women sought change in the political system that would guarantee their right to exercise full citizenship. They sought nothing less than a radical redistribution of political and economic power. Cartoons dealing with such issues are therefore profoundly political in nature.

Harper's Weekly, Puck and Punchinello yielded a total of 54 cartoons that dealt with women's ventures outside their traditional sphere. These cartoons were grouped into nine major themes: dress reform, athletics, higher education, business, suffrage, lobbying, women's clubs, prohibition, divorce/free love.

Representative cartoons from each theme were then analyzed for the following: a) appearance of the characters: dress, stance, facial expression b) the power distribution between the male and female characters c) the target of the satire: women's movement advocates or supporters of traditional gender roles d) degree of satire: mild, mocking, hostile.

The analysis was done to help determine what messages the

cartoons contained concerning the women's movement, and which aspects of the movement were noticed or ignored.

RESULTS

Of the 54 cartoons selected, only three could be interpreted as being in support of changes advocated by the women's movement. The first of these, titled "She Shared His Views", appeared in Puck in Oct. 1896 (plate 1). A woman in bloomers and bicycle is met by a man who drawls, "One can't be sure, now a days, that a person is a man just because that - aw- person wears trousers." The woman replies, looking him over sharply, "No, one can't." The man's posture is slightly drooping and he appears rather silly, while the woman is drawn tall and dignified. This is one of the few cartoons in which the woman, despite her "mannish" dress, is portrayed as feminine and attractive, while being strong and commanding. Her figure is slight, her posture upright, and while her clothes are mannish in that they consist of bloomers, a tailored jacket and fedora, they are adorned with "feminine" puffed sleeves and the hat is small and unimposing.

This sharp distinction between "feminine" and "masculine" dress appears in most of the illustrations. The feminine dress of this time period included large, frilly skirts, puffed sleeves, delicate gloves, elaborately laced & feathered bonnets, and bows. Masculine dress included severely tailored skirts, vested bodices, ties, fedoras, and the notorious bloomers. During the mid to late 1800s, the majority of cartoons depicting women in the latter

styles portrayed them as being ugly, unnatural or in some other way undesirable.

The scandalous bloomer attire was part of the dress reform movement which "aroused storms of jeers and laughter."[11] The dress reform was a necessary contribution to women's struggle toward emancipation. The fashions of this time period had become dangerously constricting. Corsets pinched women's waists to unnatural smallness, while wire hoops forced them to sit leaning constantly forward and on the edge of their seats. They also made moving about and entering narrow spaces such as stagecoaches cumbersome. Women were constantly weighted down by their clothing, and prevented from engaging in any type of activity that required freedom and swiftness of movement. In 1865, the National Dress Reform Association was organized by Dr. Lydia Sayer in response to the fashions that had become intolerable. Sayer also edited Sibyl: A Review of Tastes, Errors & Fashions of Society - the official journal of the dress reform movement. The movement's other most prominent spokeswomen were Mary Walker, the country's first female doctor, and Amelia Bloomer, editor of Lily, a journal staunchly in support of the women's movement. It was Bloomer's outspoken advocacy of dress reform in the pages of her journal that earned her eternal association with these notorious trousers, which were described by one commentator as "a sort of hermaphrodite costume, very pretty, very lascivious, very undignified."[12] Bloomers were hardly the proper solution to the fashionable hoop skirts, which were also targets of endless satire, but for their extravagance

rather than their impropriety.

Initially, bloomers were associated only with bicycle riding, as they facilitated women's participation in this new national pastime. However, most of the cartoons favorably depicting women in sports had them dressed in skirts - less frilly and restrictive than the traditional hoops perhaps, with the more "manly" vested bodice and high bow-tied collars, but skirts nonetheless. Bloomers could pass for bicycling if adorned with a less severe, more feminine bodice, but as general attire they were targets of relentless ridicule. Puck featured two such "bloomered" ladies on its cover in 1885. The first woman is drawn quite gracefully and with pleasing features (Plate 2). Yet she is standing in a manly pose, legs firmly on the ground and slightly apart, hands in pockets, head uplifted, exuding a confident, contemplative air. Her mother, Mrs. Newgurl, admonishes her, "Goodness me, Kitty! Don't stand there with your hands in your pockets that way; you don't know how ungentlemanly it looks!"

A second, less flattering yet still good-natured cartoon appeared eight months later (Plate 3). A rather slight young man is standing at the door, the arm of a taller, larger, funny-looking woman slung about his shoulders. She is in bloomers and bow tie, a hat, cane and overcoat casually draped over her other arm. She is more aggressive than he - she leans slightly forward, very confident, more manly, and definitely more in control. The young man's mother, a severe, bloomered woman carrying a suffrage newspaper, calls from the stairway, "Willy, isn't that Miss

Bloomers going soon?" The reader can imagine her tone of stern impatience. The son appeasingly replies, "Yes, Mama, she's just saying goodnight." The bloomered lady is portrayed as rather odd and ridiculous, while the acquiescent gent is portrayed as timid and juvenile.

In a cartoon which appeared three years later in 1888, Puck lost patience with women's continued insistence on wearing manly garb (Plate 4). Mabel, in feminine fashions, asks frills and lace Maud, "What a delightful place! Are there any men here?" Maud replies, "Only one; here she comes now!" and points to a lumbering woman, homely, stocky and stern, dressed in short skirt, sensible shoes, jacket, tie and hat. She is ugly, and sexually unattractive- stockier and more aggressive than any of the men in the drawing. The message that women who did not conform to traditional dress and aspirations ceased being women at all is a theme that runs through most of the cartoons dealing with the women's movement in the 19th century and beyond. Real women, it was suggested, did not wear bloomers, ride bicycles, or participate in public affairs.

The majority of cartoons depicting women in the new outrageous styles portrayed them as being unnatural and undesirable. However, by the turn of the century, the boundaries of what was considered proper, flattering dress for women had changed considerably, and cartoon portrayals reflected this difference.

The following turn of the century cartoon signals this softening, yet still reserved attitude (Plate 5). Agnes asks Ethel

of her new beau, "Does he talk sensibly?" Ethel answers, "Not at all! He is simply delightful!". We have no trouble distinguishing between the two speakers. Agnes sports her manly garb, while Ethel is adorned in frills and lace. Agnes is sensible, Ethel delightful. Agnes is no longer ugly, unnatural or as undesirable as her predecessors. Now she is just a tad too serious and not nearly enough fun.

This slow acceptance over time also appears in cartoons dealing with women's entry into athletics. A cartoon appeared in Puck in July 1901 titled "The Triumph Of The Athletic Girl" (Plate 6). A very graceful, attractive female golfer in skirt, shirt sleeves, and a man's hat, swings her club while many handsome admirers look on. In contrast, a beautiful woman in frills traditionally sits, passive and alone, with only her parents and fan for company. This cartoon came a long way from one that had appeared six years earlier, "The Athletic Girl and the Millionaire - A Tale of Too Much Up-To-Dateness (Plate 7). As the title implies, the modern woman tries to impress a suitor with her athletic abilities, only to lose him to another, who sits demurely on a sofa, adorned in bows and lace. This cartoon underlines the futility of women pursuing such activities, since men will remain unimpressed, and repelled by them. The predominant message is that women should not seek self-improvement unless it lies in the direction of increasing their marital prospects. Women's primary and singular goal was defined as gaining a husband, which was in many instances the only way to ensure financial security, an

"occupation" to keep them busy, and social acceptability.

By the turn of the century athletic garb became acceptable to the point that women were increasingly portrayed on bicycles and sporting golf clubs in a positive manner. However, Puck once again lost patience and reminded its readers that things could go too far. For example, the "New Athletic Girl for 1902" saunters down a magnificent staircase, in a ridiculous driving outfit of a short fur jacket, fur visor and goggles, and a severe skirt flapping to reveal clunky boots (Plate 8) . The women at the foot of the stairs, all beautiful and dressed in the now acceptable athletic fashions, and sporting hunting rifles, tennis rackets, golf clubs and fencing swords, recoil in horror at the sight. Women could play with athletic toys, but taking the wheel was going too far. This cartoon also shows not only men, but women recoiling and disapproving of their errant sister - a division the women's movement perpetually sought to overcome.

In 1902 a cartoon appeared that indicated how accepted women in athletics had become (Plate 9). A young, beautiful, very "feminine" woman has a midsummer day's dream in her hammock. She is spending a wonderfully romantic summer with her beloved, swimming, golfing, driving, fencing, hunting. This cartoon comfortably unites women's traditional aspirations for love with very modern aspirations for competence and participation in athletic activity. The vision is lovely, and the dream portrayed as appropriate. The reform to make athletics available to women had progressed considerably since 1837 when Mary Lyon, founder of

Mount Holyoke Seminary, had first insisted, over much protest and ridicule, upon including a thorough physical education program in her curriculum.[13]

The subject of women entering universities was treated by cartoonists with patronizing amusement. This tone accurately reflected society's general attitude toward women's education. Women, it was felt, had need only for learning that which would make them good mothers, wives, house managers and hostesses. Their curriculum was severely limited to domestic arts and, it was thought, properly so. However, a growing number of women insisted upon an education that would better equip them for participation in their ever-widening sphere.

Women's colleges appeared throughout the 1800s. Mount Holyoke, the first, was established in 1837. By the 1860s, Vassar and Wesleyan had been established, followed by Smith and Wellesly in the 1870s and Radcliffe in the 1890s.[14] In the South, Lucy Laney and Charlotte Hawkings Brown established the first institutions of higher education for African-American women.[15] From 1860 on, state universities in the western states were coeducational. All these institutions were established to counter the fashionable girl's boarding and finishing schools which prepared women for a life devoid of intellectual pursuits. By 1870, there were 11000 women students. A decade later, the number had jumped to 40,000.[16] As these institutions gained firmer footholds, the debate turned from higher education as possibly being improper for women to being dangerous. Scientists and

educators warned that intellectual exercise was too rigorous for women's feeble constitutions, that women's smaller brains were incapable of such mental exertion, and that such activity could damage their reproductive system.[17] The cartoons captured this attitude.

Two cartoons appeared that made light of women in higher education - but interestingly neither mentioned academics but focused on campus life outside the classroom. The first appeared in Puck in 1895 (Plate 10). Miss Wellesly, a very serious young woman in round spectacles is asked by the visiting Miss Vassar, "Do you haze Freshman at this college, Miss Wellesly?" To which she replies, "Oh, my, yes! We went into the room of one the other night and chewed up all her gum!" The cartoon is entitled, "Brutal". The second cartoon portrays the "College Yell at Vassar", and shows four women standing on furniture screaming at the sight of a little mouse (Plate 11). Together, these cartoons portray women's colleges as childish imitations of male universities, and as places where women are left alone, unable to fend for themselves.

Such cartoons ignored the reality of women's intellectual abilities and accomplishments, such as Dr. Mary Walker, who engaged in and completed higher education while fending for herself and keeping her brains and reproductive organs intact.

When the subject turned from education to women in business and politics, the predominant tone of the cartoons changed form condescending amusement to one of hostility. Artists took two

approaches to this impudence: highlighting the danger women's frivolity and flirtatiousness posed to an efficient workplace, or the frightening violation of natural order when unsexed females exercised authority over emasculated men to the downfall of the human race.

The primary message in cartoons was that women in the businessworld would reduce it to a place of frivolity and seduction. Beautiful, attentive, fawning females, employed as train girls, physicians working for life insurance companies, and hotel clerks would bring in admiring male customers by the dozens. Female jurors would gain the rapt attention of their male counterparts - and would reduce the incidence of evasion of jury duty (Plate 12). The cartoons depict women's primary contribution to the workplace as being her physical attractiveness and charm, and place the blame for men's distraction not on men themselves, but on women.

The cartoons also have a darker side, reminding readers of the serious consequences of admitting women into the work force and government. A cartoon appeared in Puck in which a lady broker exclaims to a customer, "Oh dear, dear! How can I attend to business when I've a baby to mind?" (Plate 13). In another, a terribly ignorant mother is discussing her decision to push her equally unpromising daughter into the medical profession. This cartoon was entitled, "The Extension of Woman's Sphere" (Plate 14).

Cartoonists went beyond the frivolity and incompetence of women, to the very threatening "unnaturalness" of women entering

the public sphere. Cartoons satirizing role reversals abounded. Masculine, hardened women, indifferent to the needs of their children and husbands, abandoned their family for more manly pursuits. In 1868 Harper's Weekly ran a lithograph "How It Would Be If Some Ladies Had Their Own Way" (Plate 15), which depicted men at home with the babies, while women smoked at the bar. Male enslavement was a recurring jeremiad among the male cartoonists, as two later cartoons show. The first depicts a proud father with baby's first tooth awaiting permission to show it off to his wife who is busy at her professional club (Plate 16). The second depicts a bloomered lady on her way out for the evening, her enslaved husband encumbered by two crying babies and a mischievous toddler (Plate 17). Perhaps the cartoon to most clearly depict man's enslavement by emancipated woman is the "Wedding Ring" - looped through hubby's nose with a leash attached. Wife leads him along, whip in hand (Plate 18). Cartoons repeatedly portrayed the men "burdened" and "enslaved" by duties they readily foisted on the women, and with which they expected women to be satisfied and content.

Women entering politics was as soundly ridiculed as women in business, and for the same reasons. A cartoon appeared in Puck in 1894 entitled " A Squelcher for Woman Suffrage", and was accompanied by the caption "How can she vote when the fashions are so wide and the voting booths so narrow?" (Plate 19). Clearly women would rather cling to the latest fashions than give up their hoops for a vote. This denied the utmost seriousness with which

women fought for suffrage, and ignored the importance they placed on dress reform.

Agitation for suffrage required women to engage in aggressive lobbying and brought them to the center of politics. Women lobbyists were continually portrayed in cartoons as alluring, if persistent, creatures whose lobbying power was directly proportional to their power of seduction. The cartoon that depicts this most effectively appeared in 1879 as a full spread cartoon collage. In one of the frames a smiling Eve offers Adam the apple over a caption that reads, "Eve, the first female lobbyist." (Plate 20). The next frame shows a stereotyped, ugly Irish immigrant woman under the heading, "Female, who can't lobby worth a cent." Cartoons appeared which showed how men - members of Congress - could and would be seduced into submission by women lobbyists who would use their "charms" persuasively. Women in political office was not even considered as a possibility.

Women's political participation was made possible by their activities in the early women's clubs - the first public organizations for women. The Club movement started in 1868 when a group of professional female journalists, angered at being denied admission into the New York Press Club, formed Sorosis. Other clubs, such as the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the YWCA, Traveler's Aid Societies, and associations for teachers, nurses, and other professionals, soon followed. These clubs gave women the opportunity to develop organizational and speaking skills, crucial to their later lobbying efforts. These clubs, as training grounds

for women, were subject to ridicule. However, they were not immediately and directly threatening, and cartoonists treated them with more mocking, less aggressive, humor. The meeting of the "Women's Rights Convention, Denouncing The Lords of Creation", depicted foolish, haughty, puckered women assuming manly poses and airs. They stand hands on hips, or recline in their seats in the most improper, unladylike manner (Plate 21). Ten years later, another meeting, this time of the club Sorosis, was drawn with a sharper sting. The women are older, wrinkled, aggressive, absorbed in newspapers, busily signing petitions, waving umbrellas menacingly, and leading their baby-carrying husbands by the leash (Plate 22). The unwomanliness of these conventions was portrayed in "At The Woman's Club" when a very feminine, fashionable young woman is the object of the puzzled, astounded stares of the older, homely, stocky, sloped shouldered liberated women dressed in men's clothing, who have better things than fashion to talk about (Plate 23).

Women attempted to use political organization not only for suffrage, but also for prohibition and more liberal divorce laws which would put a woman in charge of her marital life. Prohibition was derided in three cartoons. The first portrayed the folly of temperance ladies, who were abandoned by the young gentlemen for the company of the bartender (plate 24.) This cartoon once again subordinates women's political objectives to that of gaining a suitor. The second showed the futility of the efforts of the pious Women's Christian Temperance Union in the face of patrons eager for

drink and politicians eager for bribe (Plate 25); the third accused the women of hypocracy for admonishing their husbands while sipping spirits at the salon (Plate 26). Prohibition was a women's issue because many women at the time were forced to be dependent on their husband's wages to feed and clothe the family - wages which could be squandered on drink. In addition, alcohol abuse intensified the violence in those families where wife and child beating was practiced. [18]

Cartoons continually depicted divorce laws as unfair to men who were abandoned after toiling to provide the best for their ungrateful wives. The cartoons belied the difficulty with which women were faced in leaving their husbands - societal and familial disgrace, financial destitution, inability to secure lodgings, etc. The great nemesis of husbands appeared in full-page horror in the form of Nast's Mrs. Satan (Plate 27). Victoria Woodhull served as the model. Woodhull ran for the presidency in 1872, and advocated free-love, or a woman's right to choose who and when to love. Woodhull's advocacy of women's control over their marital status and reproduction included a push for birth control. This was such a serious affront that contraception was declared an obscene subject under the Comstock Law, and its mention was censored from the press. In 1914, Margaret Sanger was indicted for sending birth control information in her periodical The Woman Rebel through the mails.[19]

In summary, the predominant message of the cartoons collected for this study was the one captured by the following caricature in

which the righteous Reverand Dix orders an ugly, out-of-place suffragist, "Get thee to a kitchen, To a kitchen go and quickly too" (Plate 28). This was the standard advice offered women who wished to avoid the consequences of public life, which included a broken family and defunct uterus, and who wished to avoid inclusion in the Chamber of Female Horrors (Plate 29).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the body of cartoons collected from Puck, Punchinello, and Harper's Weekly, targeting a middle-class eastern audience, portrayed not women's changing reality, but that segment of society's opposition to those changes. Cartoons reflect a resistance to the women's movement. Yet they also show a subtle, slow acceptance of certain changes, such as women in athletics and dress reform. Had this study gone beyond 1920, it is safe to assume more such acceptance would have been noted.

Even when certain reforms became acceptable, women were still defined not according to their own individual merits, but in terms of their relationship to man. The cartoons emphasized women's sexual attractiveness to men, using it as a gauge of the acceptability of their actions. The value system of judging a woman's worth according to her ability to attract a husband, and to adorn both her home and her spouse's arm with her beauty, pervades these cartoons. For example, women's athletics became acceptable once men saw women athletes as attractive. Before that point, women's athletics solely for women's enjoyment was depicted as

unnatural.

The cartoons also indicate which reforms agitated the segment of society that comprised their audience. For example, the cartoons all but ignored women's participation in the labor movement and farm reform, which were largely working class and midwestern concerns. Also, the debate over the acceptability of women in the workplace was only a concern of the wealthier class. Less wealthy women had of necessity long been wage earners.

In addition, the efforts of African-American women in education, suffrage, abolition, civil rights, and other reform movements were completely omitted. Nowhere in the cartoons was there mention of Brown and Laney who established colleges for African-American women, or Ida B. Wells who led a national anti-lynching campaign, or Frances Harper who addressed the World Congress of Representative Women. The activities and concerns of African-American women were not part of the public debate, even though their activities led to great agitation and change that altered the lives of white middle class americans. These African-American women did not receive the recognition, mocking and derisive though it may have been, given to white women. This omission is important because inclusion in the popular press meant wide coverage. It signified newsworthiness and import, and facilitated inclusion in public debate and policy formation.

Immigrant women, on the other hand, did make it into the cartoons, however they received cursory, derogatory treatment that was even more stereotyped than that of Euroamerican women. Irish

women were portrayed only as being ugly, contemptible and dumb, while Euroamerican women were portrayed in a much wider variety of roles and received less stereotyped treatment.

The body of cartoons collected completely lack any concept of equality between the sexes. In the portrayals, someone always has the upper hand. There is always one person dominating over a more servile, passive and acquiescent companion. Cartoons depicted the liberated woman exerting her will over timid, acquiescent men - a reversal of the "natural" order of man dominating over woman. The patriarchal notion of hierarchy as natural and inevitable in relationships underlies all of the cartoons.

The ridicule with which the women's movement was treated in the popular press forced the development of the feminist press. Journals and periodicals that served as a forum for the ideas of the movement appeared across the nation, such as Amelia Bloomer's Lily, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's The Revolution, Charlotte Perkins Gilman's the Forerunner, and numerous professional journals. These journals, together with other periodicals of the alternative press, provided a forum for the movement's ideas both in editorial and through cartoon and other illustrations. The alternative press was vital in providing coverage that was inaccessible to women in the more popular periodicals.

Lauren Kessler in her study of the dissident press, defines three forms of denial of access practiced against dissident groups by the mainstream press : a)complete exclusion of a group b)

exclusion of the ideals and goals of a group, but inclusion of events such as demonstrations, strikes, etc. c) extreme stereotyping and ridiculing as opposed to discussion and debate of a group's concerns.[20]

The cartoons collected exercise all three forms of denied access. African-American women were subjected to complete exclusion from Harper's Weekly, Puck and Punchinello. Immigrant women were severely stereotyped and ridiculed. Euroamerican women were subjected to focus on partial events, and one-sided coverage. To find any cartoons in support of the women's movement, one has to go to the alternative press of the time.

The cartoons that appeared in the popular press gave the women's movement necessary mass exposure that it would not have received otherwise through the limited distribution of the alternative press. However, the large audience targeted by these popular periodicals received only one treatment of the women's movement - that of ridicule and resistance. Women were portrayed in the popular press, but without being given a voice in that press. As a result these women were subjected to a denial of access to mass media, and their first amendment rights were therefore impinged.

Modern day cartoon scholars, by ignoring the profusion of political cartoons dealing with women's history, are perpetuating the same denial of access practiced against women in the 18th century press. Women's participation in political history, as reflected in these anthologies, is either secondary or non-

existent. Women must get actively involved in including themselves in these anthologies, and breaking into the cartoon industry as scholars and artists. An evaluation of the access available to women in the cartoon industry must be conducted. Finally, books dealing with cartoon history must include the cartoon history of women, so that we can retain the full legacy of cartoon illustration that helped shape our nation's most pressing debates.

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1. Press, Charles. The Political Cartoon (Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981) p. 51.

2. Ibid. 49.

3. Ibid. 62.

4. Mott, p. 47.

5. Evans, Sara. Born For Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: The Free Press, 1989) p. 13.

6. Ibid. 86.

7. Murrel, William. A History of American Graphic Humor (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1968) p. 18.

8. Hess, Stephen. The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1968) p. 115.

9. Mott, Frank Luther. The History of American Magazines: 1741-1850. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930) p. 65.

10. Press, p. 13.

11. Mott, supra note 3, p. 51.

12. Mott, supra note 3, p. 51.

13.Mott, supra note 3. .p. 51.

14. Evans, p. 139.

15. Evans, p. 141.

16. Evans, p. 147.

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18. Evans, p. 127.

19. Folkerts, Jean & Dwight L. Teeter. Voices of A Nation (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989) p. 294.

20. Kessler, Lauren. The Dissident Press (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, 1984) p. .

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SHE SHARED HIS VIEWS.

"Aw," he drawled, gazing at her costume blankly, "one can't be sure, nowadays, that a person is a woman just because that — aw — person wears twousers."

"No," she returned, tersely, looking him over sharply, — "one can't."

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Plate 1. She Shared His Views Puck, v. 40, No. 1022, Oct. 7, 1896.

VOL. XXXVII. No. 945.

PUCK BUILDING, New York, April 17th, 1895.
Copyright, 1895, by Keppler & Schwarzmann.

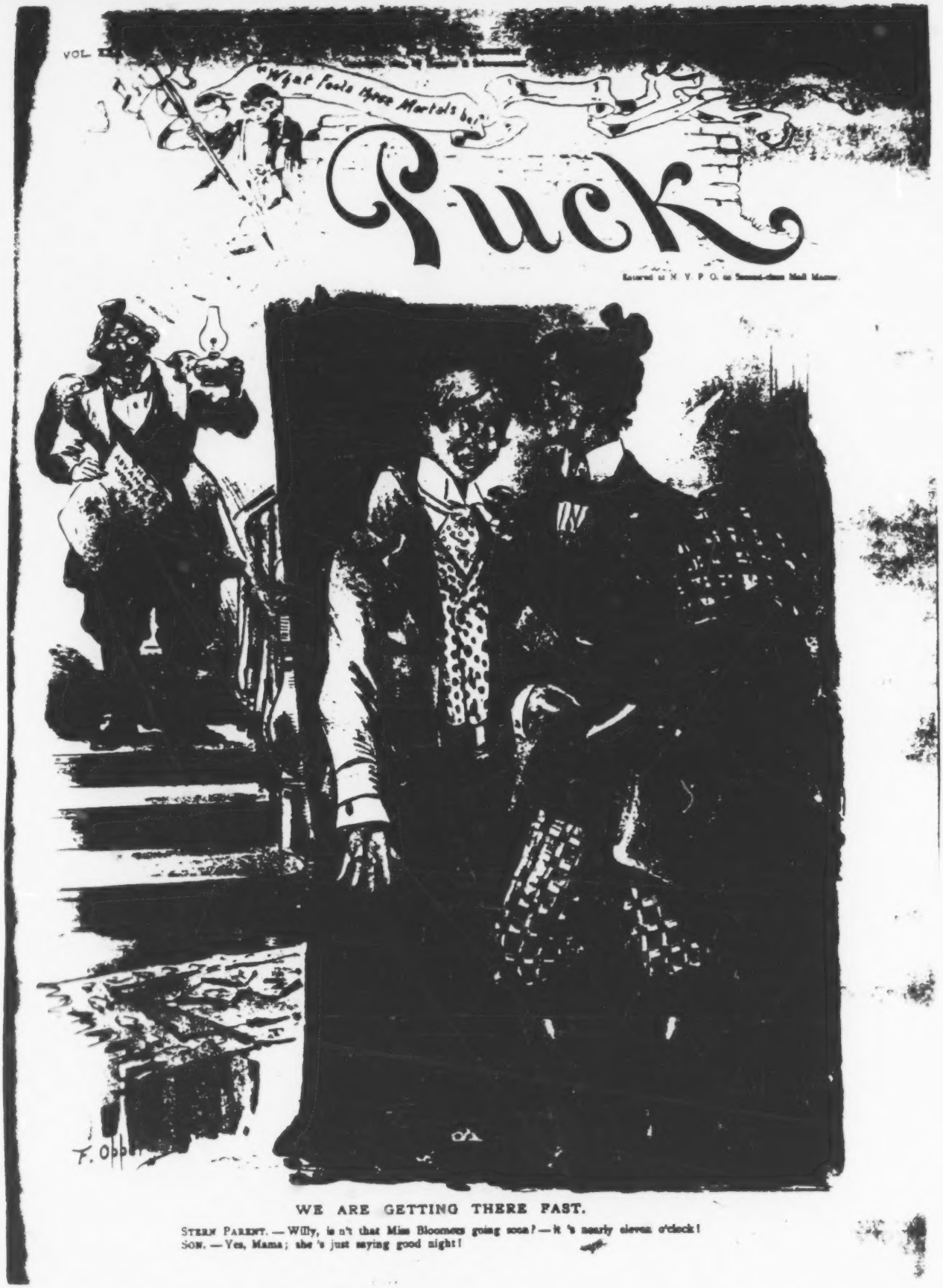
Puck

Entered at N. Y. P. O. as Second-class Mail Matter.

MODERN.

MRS. NEWGURL (*to* DAUGHTER). — Goodness me, Kitty! Don't stand there with your hands in your pockets, that way; — you don't know how ungentlemanly it looks!

Plate 2. Modern Puck, v. 37, No. 945, April 17, 1895.



WE ARE GETTING THERE FAST.

STERN PARENT. — Willy, is n't that Miss Bloomers going soon? — it 's nearly eleven o'clock!
SON. — Yes, Mama; she 's just saying good night!

Plate 3. We Are Getting There Fast Puck, v. 38, No. 981, Dec. 25, 1895.

AT THE SUMMER HOTEL.

MABEL *(just arrived)* What a delightful place! Any men here?
MAUD Only one,—here she comes now!

Plate 4. At The Summer Hotel Puck, v. 43, No. 1116, July 27, 1898.

Plate 5. Fascinator Puck, v. 50, No. 1280, Sept. 11, 1901.

Plate 6. Triumph of the Athletic Girl Puck, v. 49, No. 1273, July 24, 1901.

She tried to catch his fancy with her wonderful climbing
She did her best to jump into his affections with her diving accomplishments.
She planned to rapture him with her clever reasoning
And she thought she had touched his heart with her fine feeling

THE ATHLETIC GIRL AND THE MILLIONAIRE.—A TALE OF TOO MUCH UP-TO-DATENESS.

Plate 7. The Athletic Girl and the Millionaire Puck, v. 38, No. 965, Sept. 4, 1895.

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Plate 8. Athletic Girl for 1902 Puck, v. 50, No. 1296, Jan 1, 1902.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BRUTAL.

Miss VASSAR. — Do you hate Freshmen at this college, Miss Wellesly?
Miss WELLESLY. — Oh, my, yes! We went into the room of one the other night and chewed up all her gum!

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Plate 10. Brutal Puck, v. 37, No. 943, Apr. 3, 1895.

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V

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Plate 11. College Yell at Vassar Puck, v. 40, No. 1035, Jan. 6, 1897.

HOTEL CLERK.—First show the tall gentleman up to the best room on the first floor, and put the short gentleman a number four, under the roof.

THE ONLY WAY TO KEEP MEN FROM TRYING TO EVADE JURY DUTY.—HAVE MIXED JURIES, AS ABOVE.

BIG SCHEME FOR LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES.—LADY EXAMINING-PHYSICIANS.

LET'S ABOLISH TRAIN-BOYS, AND HAVE TRAIN-GIRLS INSTEAD.

THE GROWING FIELD OF WOMAN'S WORK.
A SHORT LOOK AHEAD.

Plate 12. Growing Field of Woman's Work Puck, v. 16, No. 408, Dec. 13, 1884.

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WOMAN IN WALL STREET.

Lady [illegible] "O DEAR, DEAR! HOW CAN I ATTEND TO BUSINESS WHEN I'VE THE BABY TO MIND!"

Plate 13. Woman in Wall Street Punchinello, Apr. 23, 1870, p. 36.

THE EXTENSION OF WOMAN'S SPHERE.

Fond Mother to visitor. "AND AS FOR SUSIE, THERE, MY DEAR, SHE'S SO CLEVER!—PUTTICS HER DOLL REGULAR WITH DIRT PILLS, AND HAS JUST BEEN AND AMPUTATED ONE OF THE POOR DUMB THING'S LEGS, AND SO WE'RE GOING TO MAKE A DOCTOR OF HER."

Plate 14. Extension of Woman's Sphere Punchinello, Dec. 24, 1870, p. 208.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HOW IT WOULD BE IF SOME LADIES HAD THEIR OWN WAY.

Plate 15. How it Would Be If Some Ladies Had Their Way Harper's Weekly, May 16, 1868.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Plate 16. Emancipated Woman's Club Puck, v. 39, No. 990, Feb. 26, 1896.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HER CHOICE.

THE YOUNG MAN'S SLAVE *(five years later)* — Now, George, don't let Willy get into mischief, don't forget to give the twins their bottle; when the groceryman calls give him that order I told you to remember, if you get a chance, I wish you would dust out the library, don't let that roast burn in the oven, and if Mrs. Smithers calls, tell her I will be home this evening. I am going to take a spin on my wheel, and will be back in two or three hours.

Plate 17. Her Choice Puck, v. 41, No. 1061, July 7, 1897.

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THE WEDDING RING. 283

Plate 18. Wedding Ring Punchinello, June 18, 1870, p. 185.

VOL. XXXV. No. 900. PUCK BUILDING, New York, June 6th, 1894. PRICE 10 CENTS.
Copyright, 1894, by Keppler & Schwarzmann.

Puck

Entered at N. Y. P. O. as Second-class Mail Matter.

A SQUELCHER FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

How Can She Vote, When the Fashions Are so Wide, and the Voting Booths Are so Narrow?

Plate 19. Squelcher for Woman's Suffrage Puck, v. 35, No. 900, June 6, 1894.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Female, who can Lobby for Dollars.
Want to secure a Senator's favor, try this way.
Female, who can't Lobby worth a Cent.
Eve, that
First Female Lobbyist
THE LAW'S
TICKS
THE BLACKMAILER
The Senator who hesitates at last, for then he is pursued by that terror of Washington life—Blackmail.
DIG
INDI

"WHEN LOVELY WOMEN STOOPS TO LOBBY"—A CAPITAL PICTURE.

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Plate 20. When Lovely Woman Stoops to Lobby Puck, v. 4, No. 108, Apr. 2, 1879.

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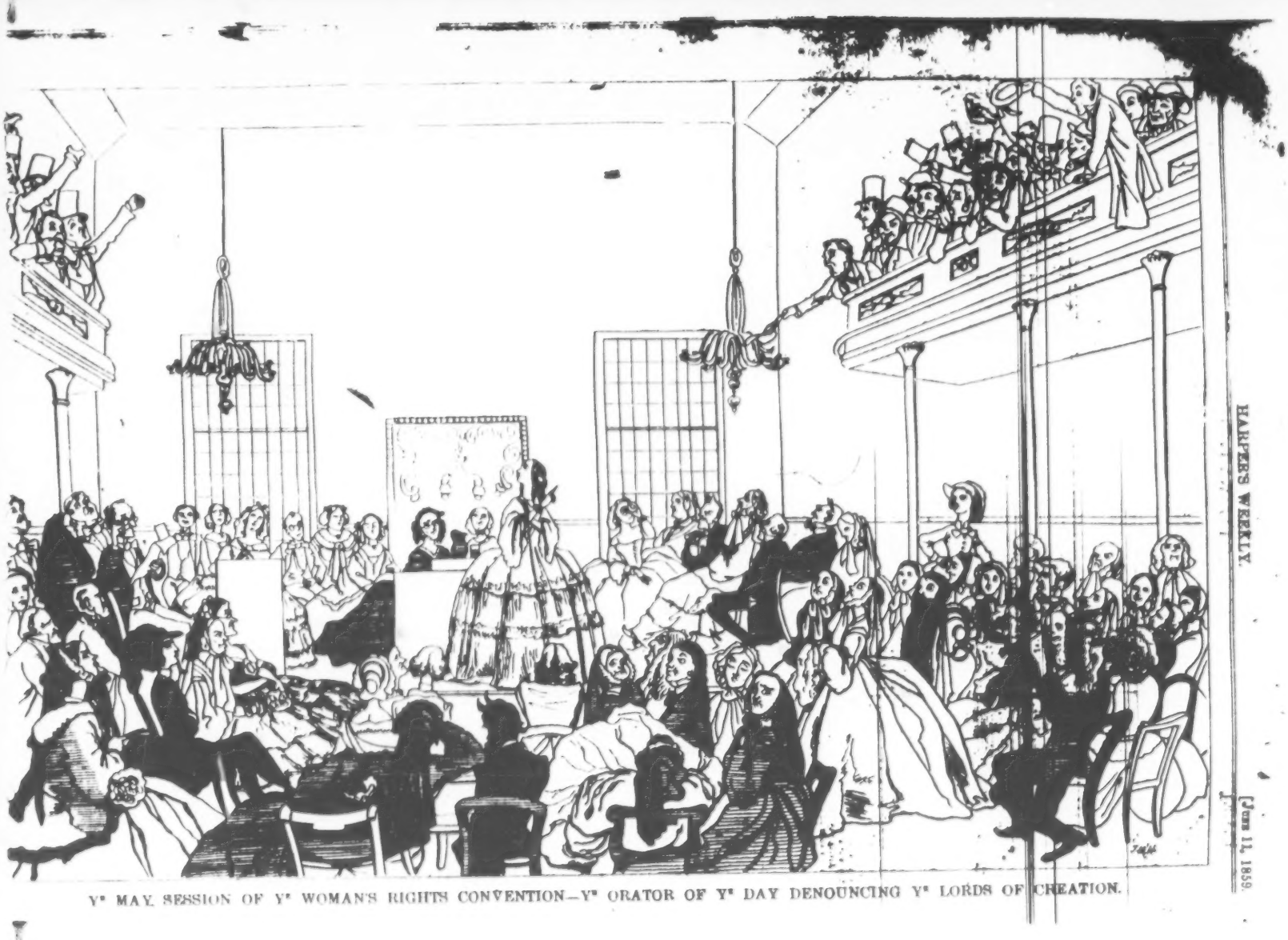

Yᵉ MAY SESSION OF Yᵉ WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION—Yᵉ ORATOR OF Yᵉ DAY DENOUNCING Yᵉ LORDS OF CREATION.

Plate 21. Woman's Rights Convention Harper's Weekly, June 11, 1859, p. 372.

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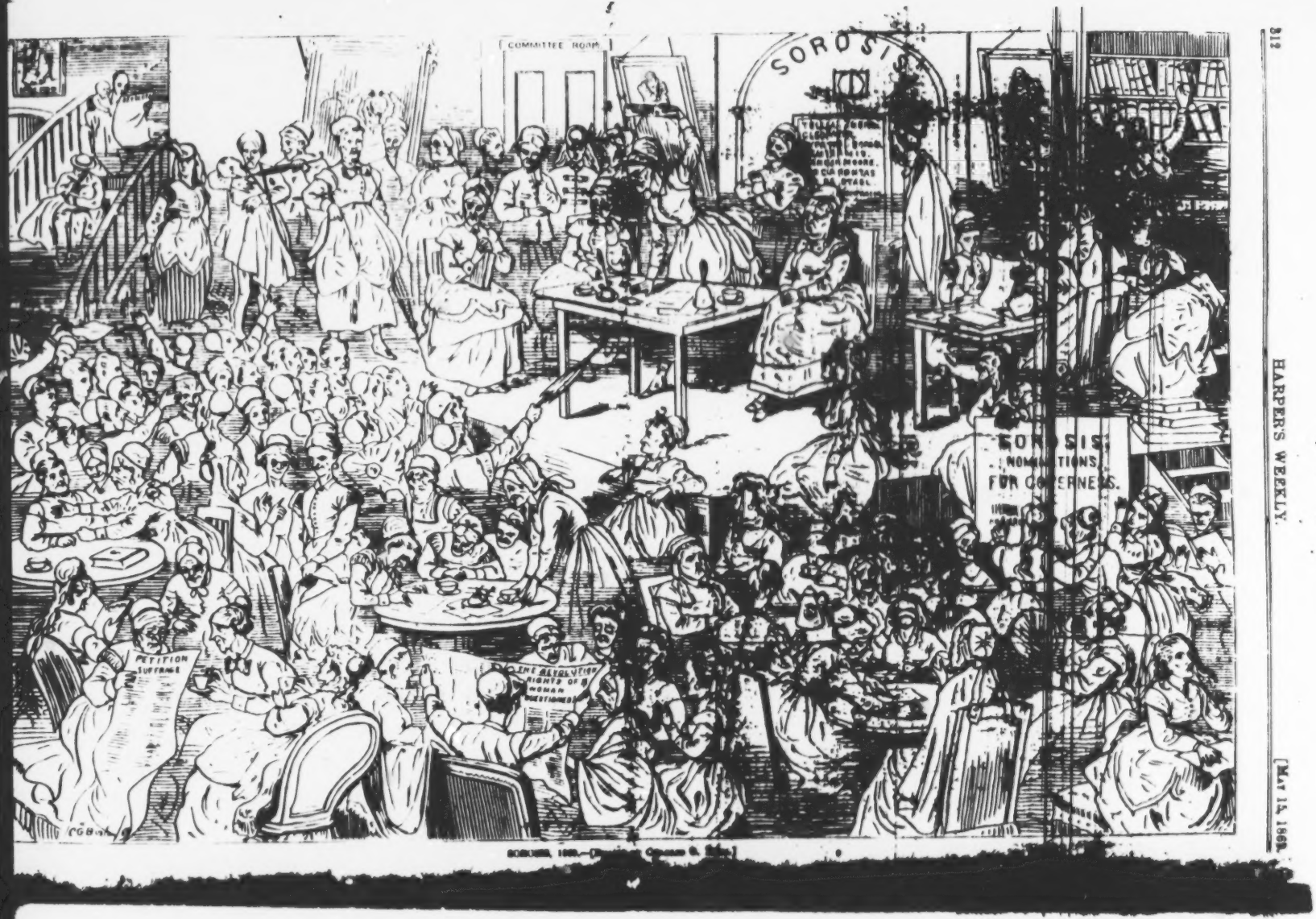

Plate 22. Sorosis Harper's Weekly, May 15, 1869, p. 312.

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AT A WOMAN'S CLUB.

'Twas a debating club for women. She
A maiden young and unaccustomary
Of recent acquisition, and her eyes
Grew round with wonder as the women made
And carried various motions by the aid
Of Cushing or as Robert's Rules advise.

She could not understand the reason for
[illegible] one had the floor
[illegible] eyes and nose
[illegible] and then
[illegible] Chairman whose
[illegible] as readily allows.

At last attempt to call they asked of art
Of science, letters, of a woman's part
In the great struggle for existence. Next
They lightly touched on archæology
Discussed with learn foreign policy
And trade [illegible] and Crete [illegible]

'Twas lone in town for they were far
Above such mundane things as women are
When bubbled enthusiasm. Rife it was now
The maiden raised her timid voice and fell
The eager rest of wheres it sale could tell
The shops for bargains where to buy and how

A trusty bondager in scornful rage
Denounced on the ones of the age.
Among them rank extravagance in clothes
But here the maid, all eager and abrupt
Tired of what she knew did interrupt,
And even showed her latest "bargain" hose.

She gave advice and counsel told them where
To go for gowns and bonnets, — what to wear —
And they in frozen silence listened glared
At her, dumbfounded for the nonce, while the
Continued talking all unconsciously,
Nor wondered why the others sat and stared.

At last she paused, — she had no more to tell —
The charm was broken, down the gavel fell.
"You're out of order Madam," roared the chair
The maiden seemed bewildered shook her shirt,
Examined her neat gloves, then coming hum,
She beat a retreat, blushed and stammered, "Where?"

Laurence K. Russell

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Plate 23. At a Woman's Club Puck, v. 43, No. 1096, Mar. 9, 1898.

NEW YORK'S DEGENERATE NEW-YEAR'S.

THE BAR TENDER RECEIVES MORE CALLS THAN THE LADIES OF THE TEMPERANCE TABLE.

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Plate 24. Degenerate New Year's Puck, v. 16, No. 408, Dec. 31, 1884.

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THE POLITICIAN AND HIS DUPES

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Plate 25. Politician and His Dupes Puck, v. 51, No. 1302, Feb.

To Doctor Crosby: "There are more places where the Blue Ribbon is needed, than in the corner liquor saloons." (And may the ladies forgive us our impertinence.)

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Plate 26. May the Ladies Forgive Our Impertinence Puck, unkown volume and date.

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"GET THEE BEHIND ME, (MRS.) SATAN!"—[See Page 143.]

WIFE (with 'many burdens'). "I'D RATHER TRAVEL THE RARDEST PATH OF MATRIMONY THAN FOLLOW YOUR FOOTSTEPS."

12

Plate 27. Mrs. Satan Harper's Weekly, Feb. 17, 1872, p. 140.

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REV. DR. DIX'S "SERMONS ON WOMAN" CONDENSED.

REV. DR. DIX [*a la Hamlet*]:—"GET THEE TO A KITCHEN . . . . . TO A KITCHEN GO, AND QUICKLY, TOO!"

Plate 28. Rev. Dr. Dix Puck, v. 18, March 28, 1853.

A SUGGESTION TO THE BUFFALO EXPOSITION — IT'S HAVE A CHAMBER OF FEMALE HORRORS

Plate 29. Chamber of Female Horrors Puck, v. 49, April 3, 1901.